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SUMMARYTHE CAREER ASPIRATIONS AND ATTITUDES OF MIDDLE AND LOW STREAM PUPILS  
IN AN URBAN, MULTI-RACIAL COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL.

This investigation sought to identify and analyse the determinants and characteristics of attitudes to the world of work held by young people living in an urban, multi-racial area of low social and economic status.

A questionnaire was administered to 864 comprehensive school pupils; group discussions held and also one-to-one dialogues with over 200 pupils.

The dominant determinant of job status aspirations was found to be the job status aspirations of parents for their children, with factors arising within the home environment having far greater influence on career attitudes than forces stemming from the labour market, peer group or school. The role of the school as a mediating influence on career attitudes and aspirations appeared limited and the youngsters' levels of job status aspirations and expectations were virtually the same for each school year. Many of the youngsters did not perceive that academic performance would influence their career aspirations because most of them aspired to working class jobs which did not, or were seen not to require formal qualifications. Yet qualifications were valued, in a general sense, because of parental pressure to achieve at school. However, qualification levels were not related to specific job status levels because pupils and parents tended to be ignorant of these relationships. Pro and anti school attitudes did not appear to arise from stimulated or frustrated career ambitions, but from the school's value structure itself and the extent to which the formal curriculum was found to be interesting and relevant; also from conformist and non-conformist attitudes to adult and social values generally.

Attitudes to the labour market suggested that the youngsters were concerned with the conditions under which they would work and with the threat of unemployment. Their job aspirations were restricted in range of choice and to the area in which they lived.

Personality, in the form of a trait measuring confidence in career prospects, appeared to have a strong influence on aspirations, but peer groups had little influence.

Girls' career attitudes were more predictable than those of boys, but neither sex nor ethnic origin were significant discriminators between job status aspiration levels.

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Ph.D. THESIS

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A. Leo Raby.

University of Aston in Birmingham.

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This is a study of the career attitudes, particularly career aspirations, of pupils in the middle and lower streams of a large comprehensive school in a West Midlands, urban, multi-racial area of low social and economic status.

The investigation seeks to identify and analyse the determinants and characteristics of attitudes held to the world of work and give insights into the social and educational processes through which these attitudes are acquired.

A. Leo Raby

Ph.D. Thesis

University of Aston in Birmingham.

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CHAPTER IINTRODUCTION

Study by economists, psychologists, sociologists, educationalists and others, over a century, into the complicated forces which govern the entry of young people into the world of work, appears to have produced no effective theoretical frameworks to use as tools for analysis or policy making. Sheila Allen's comments in 1968 (p. 319. 001) appear to be as valid today as they were a decade ago :-

"The existing work on youth tends to present us with an evergrowing list of factors which seem to be influential, but little or no attempt is made to specify their interrelation. In the transition from school to work, for instance, the list grows longer, but we are no nearer to explaining the relative significance of school, home, labour market, peer group or work experience in structuring attitudes, behaviour and problems in the work situation of adolescents."

It is not only the apparently unlimited range of operative variables, but their context in an increasingly dynamic rate of change of social, economic and technical environments. Since, perhaps, the behaviour of most human beings reacts too slowly or too unpredictably to change in their environment, no overall theoretical framework can materialise, given the present state of knowledge.

On this assumption, in spite of Allen's comments, all that the researcher can do in this, as in some other areas of the behavioural sciences, is to attempt to gain limited insights into specific aspects of the wide ranging problem, probably only valid at a given point of time. If this ignores changes in the social structure, it, at least, may give a base for the prophets to leap from in order to give direction to future research or to the policy makers. Certainly, at the present time there is a critical need for more knowledge of young peoples' attitudes to the world of work and the forces that mould these attitudes. Concern is international, not only because of the international nature of economic problems affecting entry into work, such as rapid technological change and particularly youth unemployment, but also because of the possible relationships between perceived and real employment problems and increasing social discontent of youth, such as growing crime and vandalism. Britain has particular tensions in urban, multi-racial areas.

Given, then, that a limited investigation cannot cover all the operative variables and their interrelations involved in the movement of youngsters into employment, it behoves workers in the field to address themselves to pertinent current issues, in the context of the ongoing body of knowledge being built by other researchers, hopefully to contribute to the ultimate emergence of an overall theoretical model of occupational choice or allocation. Perhaps this is the inevitable form of progress in most areas of the behavioural sciences. R. B. Cattell accepts this. He suggested, for an introduction for a biography (L. J. Bischof; 1964. 007),

relating to his work on objective personality assessment, a quotation from Tennyson's Locksley Hall :-

"Science moves but slowly, slowly, creeping on  
from point to point."

Cattell rejected hopes of progress by 'sudden enlightenment' and saw advance through a 'teasing out by statistical finesse' and supportive methodologies.

This study concerns itself, in the main, though not entirely, with the career attitudes of youngsters and attempts to hold social and economic status stable, at least in the social context of home and school, by using a sample from a school in a low S.E.S. area of the West Midlands. There is no 'middle class' housing in the catchment area, the population of which is roughly 40% coloured.

The study seeks to identify the career attitudes of these pupils, the sources of these attitudes, the varied attitudes of differing groups of the school population and how these attitudes lead to varied status levels and kinds of work aspired to. It seeks limited insights into the cultural and experiential processes through which career attitudes are taken up. Relationships between educational and occupational attitudes are studied in order to evaluate the significance of school experiences in career aspirations and to attempt to find critical periods in school life which determine status and location in work after school.

Chapter II (Section 1) presents a historical survey of occupational choice, or allocation theories. This historical context is relevant, if only to emphasise that, at any period of time, contemporary researchers have tended to concentrate on

restricted areas of the vast problem of the forces which govern the entry of adolescents into the world of work.

The historical survey indicates how research progressed in time through the disciplines of economics, industrial and educational psychology and sociology; also how different groups of researchers in these disciplines have proceeded along their various and often quite independent tracks.

Section 2; Factors Influencing Occupational Entry ; is a more detailed analysis of the sociological research of the last three decades.

Section 3; The Transfer from School to Work - Problems and Policies; puts the investigation into a wider context. It is concerned with international problems of adolescents entering employment and the general trends of policy of governments and other bodies. Britain is dealt with in greater detail. This survey is included because it puts into context a vital area of the backcloth to the investigation and explicitly argues a case for research in this chosen field at the present time. It shows the potential, if not the actual, influence of unemployment on urban, working class youth and also provides a base for any conclusions needed which may have bearing on future policy.

Chapter III initially points, in broad terms, to potential areas for research derived from Chapters I and II and is then concerned with the purposes and theoretical bases of this research project.

Chapter IV is concerned with methodology; how the research design developed: it shows how the variables were measured and the statistical techniques employed in the analysis of results.

The results of the questionnaire are analysed in Chapter V. Chapter VI interprets the analysis of results presented in the previous chapter and considers avenues for future research suggested by the results of the investigation. Some implications for policy making by educational and governmental institutions are also considered.

Appendix I is the questionnaire used in the study and Appendix II shows the actual jobs named by questionnaire respondents to the question asking what job they hope to get when they leave school. This list of jobs is classified according to the list of occupational groups of the Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys (1970).

The Bibliography, which follows the Appendices, is presented in alphabetical order of authors. In order to enable ease of reference to the Bibliography, each bibliography item is numbered with a three digit number (001 to 129). All bibliographic references in the text are followed by a bracket containing either author's name, and/or page and year of publication, as appropriate to the context. The three digit reference number always appears at the end of the bracket.

CHAPTER IIBACKGROUND TO THE INVESTIGATION(1) DEVELOPMENT OF VOCATIONAL CHOICE THEORY(i) Classical Economic Theory

In the 19th. century classical economists accepted the assumption of their master Adam Smith that labour was a commodity on the market like any other commodity and, like any other commodity market, labour markets always tended towards perfection.

The classical economic man did exist in the form of the entrepreneur maximising profits and the buyer minimising purchase prices, or at least existed to the extent that he was a realistic basis for theoretical analysis. However, there never was a classical worker and, whilst empirical studies based on classical theory are still pursued today, (D. Robinson; 1970. 100) it can be assumed that labour market imperfections are such that classical theory has little use in explaining labour market behaviour. Workers often do not seek to maximise earnings, particularly young workers, who also are frequently reluctant to sustain regular effort or indeed consistent expenditure patterns (J. H. Goldthorpe et al. 1969. 049). Workers, particularly young workers, will not become mobile for higher earnings; they will not always move to higher paid jobs in the same plant, (D. I. MacKay; 1970. 081).

In short, classical labour market theory is almost irrelevant where social, political, even legal forces corrupt, to the extent they do today, freedom of the market supply and demand for labour. No pure economic theory can give any great insight into how young people obtain work: indeed, it is still not clear whether there is a juvenile labour market separate from the adult market (N. Bosanquet P. B. Doeringer; January 1973. 014). Researchers have lately

concentrated on sociological factors in attempting to explain how youngsters get jobs; 'there has been no recent study of the juvenile labour market as such.' (Cyril S. Smith, p.11. 1975. 109).

In the 19th. century heyday of the classical economists labour was a commodity in that it was hawked from door to door. The inhumanities of the industrial revolution brought a slow growth of a social conscience and social control processes, but urbanisation, wider educational opportunities and social stress produced a clamour for action that was not to be denied. One aspect of this was a demand from educationalists, politicians, philanthropists, clergy and even industrialists for the preparation of the young for the stresses of the world of work. Unlike with later social and educational reforms, it could be argued that the reformers stimulated the theorists rather than the reverse. Heginbotham (1951. 061) and Bloomfield in the U.S.A. (1915. 010) review the reforming forces that were at work at the beginning of this century.

The Labour Exchange Act of 1909 produced a national network of Labour Exchanges with powers to help with the work problems of juveniles; the Board of Education Act of 1910 gave L.E.As. the right to assist school leavers in their choice of employment and the Education Act of 1918 prevented employment before the age of 14. In the same period career guidance services were being developed in a number of American states and F. Parson's book (1909. 098) arose from his work as Director of the Boston Vocational Bureau. He was first to use the term vocational guidance and in the next three years there were three national conferences on vocational guidance in the U.S.A.



(ii) Psychologically Based Theories

The early 19th. century was the period when concern for the individual by social reformers in the occupational field and war-time needs stimulated psychologists to progress from the experimental theoretical psychology developed in Germany in the 19th. century to research into individual differences, aided by the new statistical techniques of Galton and Pearson. Yet it could be argued that the early occupational scientists were not concerned with the individual in the sense of a concern for humanity as were the social reformers; the individuals needs and job satisfactions were ignored. The differences studied were capacities, with the purpose of separating the incompetent and untrainable in a variety of job roles.

Bryan W. L. and Harter L. in the U.S.A. (1899. 019) sought to identify the human capacities demanded for the morse code operator; Munsterberg H. the telephone switchboard operator (1913. 093) and in France, Lahy J. M. typists and linotype operators. (1913. 079). Aided by the new intelligence tests the post-war era produced a spate of studies concerned with appropriate I.Q. levels for specific tasks. (Examples 021. 114. 129).

Stimulated further by the studies of the American industrial efficiency experts and the beginning of time and motion study by F. B. Gilbreth and F. W. Taylor, (1911. 044), the industrial psychologists were on the march. The advent of time and motion study typified the concern of these psychologists with the collective efficiency of workers in their jobs rather than the individual's interests and needs in the job situation, and the development of ability and aptitude testing appeared to emphasis the same concern.

Unfortunately the guidance services that developed for juveniles (the Youth Employment Service began in 1939) were designed by industrial psychologists and the so-called 'talent matching' model tended to define the purposes of these guidance institutions. The talents or assets of the individual, in the form of qualifications, I.Q., physical abilities and manual dexterity, were matched as closely as possible with the job-skill requirements of a range of occupations. These individual characteristics were those meant by Macrae in 1932 (p.84. 082), when he defined the talent matching model with concise clarity :-

"The vocational psychologists dreams of a day when, having constructed a silhouette representing the characteristics of the person examined, he will proceed to superimpose this human profile on a number of occupational profiles until he finds one with which it exactly coincides."

C. Hull (1925. 068) in the U.S.A., an engineer, even designed a machine to match men with jobs; using it in all schools would 'eliminate the need for career guidance'. It is true that some psychologists did pay lip service to individual needs, aspirations and job satisfactions, notably E. Claparède (1922. 027), but it was much easier to predict job suitability than job contentment.

The talent matching model has remained the basis of guidance in British schools: this statement implies that the advent of counselling in the 1960s has had little impact. In America the earlier origins of counselling are to be found in industrial psychology and vocational guidance has remained a major

aspect of the school counsellor's work. The mainstream of counselling theory is based on Carl Roger's self-conceptual theories of explaining individual attitudes and behaviour and the inter-relationship between these theories of personality growth and occupational choice was the source of perhaps the most comprehensive, certainly the most researched, theories of occupation choice of E. Ginsberg and D. Super in the early 1950s.

Ginsberg expounded his theory of occupational choice in 1951 (045). The nucleus of the theory was that choice was a developmental process over a period of up to ten years; a series of decisions, each one dependent in some degree on previous decisions. The process is therefore irreversible and has the quality of a series of compromises between external reality and internal factors related to individual personality. Throughout the developmental process, usually between the ages of 11 and 18, the individual moves from a fantasy to a tentative and then realistic stage; he moves from unreal job fantasies to tentative internalisation of his occupational interests, capacities, needs and values. As the period reaches its end he becomes realistic in the assessment of his own capabilities and needs and of the conditions in the working world.

Ginsberg claimed to have proved his theory through an empirical study and further researches (046. 047) added to his ideas. Briefly, he extended the developmental process into the future career pattern, showing how career decisions are not only concerned with the present, but with projections relating to future career goals.

"If the individual is able to conceptualise what he wants to be in the future, he acquires a major organising principle which can give direction and provide continuity to what would otherwise be random and unrelated action." (E. Ginsberg et al. 1964. 046).

This process of 'self-realisation' placed emphasis on individual choice, as opposed to external influences, such as the job market. The fact that the career expectations of respondents in the 1964 study were generally fulfilled specifies a limitation of Ginsberg's empirical studies, relevant to this investigation. Ginsberg's samples were graduates or prospective graduates. Only one study in Britain directly tested out Ginsberg's theoretical approaches, but again concern was mainly with youth interested in higher education (S. M. Chown, 1958. 026). It was shown that the tentative period lasted longer in Britain and that British pupils were more concerned with the conditions of work than with the appraisal of their own capacities. Some support for these views is found in a series of studies in the '50s and '60s, by G. Jahoda (1952. 070), T. Veness (1952. 121) and M. P. Carter (1962. 022).

D. E. Super (1953 and 1957. 112 and 113) broadly accepted Ginsberg's developmental theory, with some reservations, but pointed out that Ginsberg's compromise between interests, capacities, values and opportunities, between individual needs and reality, did not explain or describe the process of compromise. Super, in ten propositions stated his own theory, which saw the process of vocational development as 'essentially that of developing and implementing a self concept, involving a compromise process of

interaction of inherited aptitudes, neural and endocrine make-up, opportunity to play various roles and evaluations of the extent to which the results of role playing meet with the approval of superiors and fellows.'

Super was deeply involved in vocational counselling and owed much to the self conceptual theories of counselling of Carl Rogers (1942. 101). Super did pay lip service to social factors and role playing in defining the self concept, anticipating sociological theories, but developmental theories were firmly embedded in psychological bases and individual choice. It was left to P. M. Blau et al. (1956. 008) to initiate a theoretical framework which combined psychological, sociological and economic factors. In fact, Blau embraced Ginsberg's theories and added sociological and economic variables. The personality variables that affected career attitudes were, according to Blau, influenced by 'past' social structure and 'current' social structure determined educational and job entry opportunities. The career choices of individuals reacted with the selection process choices of teachers and employers and individual choice was determined by two groups of factors. One was the individual's hierarchy of preferences, the other his expectations of realising the choices in this hierarchy, with job entry being a compromise between the two, involving often a descent in the hierarchy of job status aspirations. For the employer the compromise was between optimal characteristics of the candidates for employment and increasing rewards offered.

Blau's work was couched in broad theoretical generalisations and initially he made little attempt to develop insight into the specific social and economic forces governing occupational entry.

However, research has continued, some using Ginsberg's developmental theories, into the socio-economic factors that are involved in the movement from the tentative period to increasing realism in job choice. This movement from Ginsberg's attitude formation concepts of occupational choice was summarised by F. M. Howell, W. Frese and C. R. Sollie (1977. 067).

In the U.S.A., Duncan et al. (1972. 036) and others have shown that much more is being learned about the factors that mediate between social origin and job status achieved; but also that, as in Britain, the knowledge of the numerous existing factors has often been more descriptive of them than an explanation of their relationships.

There is greater clarity in the influence of economic forces affecting occupation choice, where choice is taken to be, not only the actual choice of a job, but also the pattern of individual behaviour adopted in the movement towards realistic choice. As early as 1956, L. G. Thomas (116) established that labour market forces affected career attitudes; Ford and Box (1967. 040) confirmed the significance of the influence of labour market and Osipow (1973. 097) saw the process as a series of compromises between an individual's 'wishes' and his 'possibilities'. Economic goal blocks leading to increased realism are 'realistic' in themselves and easier to research than the process of career socialisation of the adolescent. If economic goal blocks, such as job scarcity, are greater, job status 'choices' will be lower (A. G. Cosby and C. L. J. Legere, 1971. 030). Awareness of the world of work is a key factor in changing fantasy to realistic choice (Osipow 1973. 097), although for many youngsters there is often limited access to reliable job market information. (W. E. Moore 1969. 090).

(iii) Sociological Theories

It is the process of socialisation influencing career attitudes and job entry that presents the real problem. There is a large body of theory and empirical research, most social-psychological in origin, on processes of socialisation as they affect youngsters' career aspirations. As the beginning of this chapter stated however, quoting from S. Allen, we still know little of the interrelationships of the socialisation process within the home, the school and peer groups, which structure career attitudes and the status of work entered. An ever increasing list of variables has been identified, all of which, no doubt, affect the work socialisation process; yet all attempts to crystallise an overall sociological theory of occupational choice have failed. One reason for the failure has been, as Allen has stated, (1968. 001) that research on the social problems of youth is futile if it separates the problems from the overall social structure in which those problems are being investigated. For example, differences between middle and working class are not only social and economic, they 'permeate every aspect of life' (Allen). She made the prospects for future research a daunting prospect when she said that there was no hope of reaching significant conclusions by investigating a limited number of variables; an overview of the whole picture was essential. The last attempts in Britain to provide a sociological theory of occupational choice were in the late 1960s and were reviewed in "Occupational Choice", edited by W. M. Williams (1974. 127). In his search for a

comprehensive theory, P. W. Musgrave (1967. 092) dismissed Ginsberg's and Super's theories as descriptive and missing much of sociological theory. He made socialisation the conceptual focus of his own theory, especially learning to take roles. Economic socialisation, he suggested, to which occupational choice is mainly related, has four stages; pre-work socialisation, entry to the labour force, socialisation into the labour force and job changes. Musgrave also used the concept of Anticipatory Socialisation, that is prior role rehearsal, as a vital element in moving from one stage to the next. Much Anticipatory Socialisation takes place in the family. During pre-work socialisation primary socialisation takes place; wherein the range of roles open to the child is narrowed at the hands of family, school and peer groups. At stage two, entry to the labour force, preference, released by anticipatory socialisation, becomes choice. The role map, learned by the adolescent, will include some measures of the job market opportunities, helped by guidance services. Socialisation into the job involves learning the role behaviour appropriate to the job and 'Job Changes' demand a process of re-socialisation.

J. Ford and S. Box (1974. 040) rejected Musgrave's assertion that no theory of occupational choice existed and claimed that a theory was explicit from the work of a number of writers (Katz and Martin, 1962. 072; Caplow 1954. 025; Sherlock and Cohen 1966. 106). The theory that emerged was conceptually narrow in that it was claimed that no theory need include the



processes by which career values are acquired; these values can be taken as given. Choice is a compromise between values and expectations and an individual will rank occupations in terms of the relation between his values and the characteristics of the occupation. The higher the perceived probability of entering the higher ranked occupation, the more likely it is that that occupation will be chosen. This theory is simplistic; it cannot explain the long term influences on career choice, and the processes of socialisation and has no reference to social structure.

It is on the latter ground that E. T. Keil et al. (1974. 074) rejected Musgrave's theory, which was also criticised on the grounds of inaccuracies and misinterpretations of previous empirical work. Keil's detailed criticism of Musgrave's theory and Musgrave's response (W. M. Williams Ed. 1974. 127) need no repetition; since then researchers in the field have tended to concentrate on the dynamics of the cultural processes through which determinants of career choice or allocation operate to create values and attitudes to work. Put simply, the determinants of career choice arise in the family, the school, the peer group and the social and economic environments of these three; the current trend is to micro-studies of the social and cultural processes through which these operate. Though no overall theoretical model has emerged, some studies have given significant insights into these processes.

(2) FACTORS INFLUENCING OCCUPATIONAL ENTRY

(i) Determinants of Career Choice or Allocation

The wealth of literature on the forces governing entry of young people into work presents a daunting task to the researcher; here simplification is attempted by reviewing, in turn, the determinants which arise within the home and its social environment, the school, peer groups, ethnic origins, labour market and sex differences. Since there is overlap and interaction between these determinants and since many studies are concerned with the comparative significance of variables arising from these sources, this review must reflect this interaction; consequently, the sub-headings used reflect the main themes they pursue, not a direct indication of content.

(a) Social Class Origin

From as far back as 1941/2, when A. B. Hollingshead (1949. 064) conducted his research into the social structure of a small town in the American Middle-West, the direct relationship between social status of the family and the status of employment obtained has been recognised. Elmtown was socially and economically an island, so that this relationship came over with forceful clarity. The American dream of a land of opportunity

was, in a sense, seen to be a fallacy and Hollingshead, at the end of his book, says that society and its culture should be indicted rather than the Elmtown Board of Education. Perhaps the American dream was somewhat revived by Ralph Turner in 1964 (117) for, whilst confirming the relationship between occupational and material ambition with the social and economic status of the family, he pointed to the potential of large moderately heterogeneous school communities 'to facilitate upward social mobility and to the fact that neutralisation of stratification of origin is possibly replaceable by a stratification of destination' via the acquisition of new values and social intercourse. Thus schools, particularly large comprehensive schools, could counter cultural deprivation and stimulate upward job status mobility.

Nevertheless, social class origin has been identified by the substantial body of American empirical research on job status goals and attainment as one of the main independent variables. In the 1960s a series of studies identified several, mainly social psychological mediating variables; parents aspirations and expectations (Bordua, 1960. 011; Sewell and Shah, 1968. 103), peers (Alexander and Campbell, 1964.003; McDill and Coleman, 1965.085; Duncan et al. 1968.035): and teachers influence (Ellis and Lane, 1963.038; Herriot, 1963.063).

One study by T. H. Williams in Canada merits special attention because of the firm nature of its conclusions and its methodology, though it was concerned with educational rather than

occupational aspirations (1972. 126). Williams used Kemper's reference group theory (1968. 075), a reference group being defined as 'a group, collectivity or person which the actor takes into account in some manner in the course of selecting a behaviour from among a set of alternatives. or in making a judgement about a problematic issue .....'. Path analysis was used. The pupils were found to be 'passive actors', whose educational goals were moulded by socialisation pressures in the family and school. Parents and teachers acted as reference groups, holding out expectations of behaviour, dispensing rewards and sometimes acting as role models. Parents were vital in affecting decisions on the adult world after school; the role of the school was highly significant, but peers, though their influence increased slightly, never had any great influence. The significant variables were S.E.S of family, intelligence, educational expectations of parents and teachers and academic achievement, which, via ability grouping, determined who peers would be.

Other studies of this period also used path analysis methodologies to add the time factor to the influence of variables arising in home, school and peer group, (Blau and Duncan, 1967. 009; Sewell et al. 1969 and 1970, 104 and 105; Woelfel and Haller, 1971. 128). Findings tended to lay less stress on social class origin and attached more importance to the expectations of significant others, mainly parents and teachers; also to academic performance.

Another area of research in America, into class and job status mobility, is more impressive for its volume than for the consistency of its findings. This research has been obsessed with methodological problems and 'has been driven forward more nearly by inventions of measurement than by inventions of theoretical conception' according to Tyree and Hodge (1978. 120). The bibliography of R. M. Hauser (1978. 060) lists the main work in the field. The most significant conclusion is that upward social and occupational mobility has increased due to changes in the structure of objective mobility opportunities, not to greater exchange mobility.

Similar conclusions apply to Britain, where there has been a gap in research from the classic study of Glass in 1949 (048) to the work in the 1970s of the Social Mobility Group at Oxford and Goldthorpe et al. (J. H. Goldthorpe et al. 1974, 1977, 1978, 050. 051. 052. 053).

Goldthorpe points to the fact that since Glass' work, sociologists have projected his findings forward since 1949 and assumed constancy in mobility rates, that is no increase in opportunities for upward social class and occupational status mobility. This has tended to over-emphasise perceptions of the role of social class origin in job status attainment and the inequalities of opportunities. However, Goldthorpe states that there has been, in the past 40 years, an upgrading of objective mobility opportunities, 'a relatively sharp expansion of what we have termed the service class and a steady contraction of numbers

in the working class'.

Thus social class origin should be less of a predictor of job status allocation for working class youth. However, it is doubtful indeed, in an age of unemployment, whether these apparent enhanced opportunities are perceived to the extent that they would reflect in expressed career choices.

In Britain there have been a series of studies, perhaps more descriptive than analytical, that have, directly or indirectly demonstrated the marked effects of social background on career attitudes and aspirations, but only in broad general terms. Their authors, including G. Jahoda (1952.070), M. P. Carter (1962.022), T. Veness (1962.120), J. W. B. Douglas (1962.037) and B. Swift (1973.114), have attempted to measure the comparative influences of home, school, peer group and labour market. The studies have tended to centre on the encapsulated unit of the school, rather than the home. This has, perhaps, overemphasised the significance of factors within the school, but, nevertheless, the importance of variables related to social class origin is apparent. The main variables used, arising in the family, have been the broad working/middle class division and parents' job status. Generally these have been found significant.

There is also a wealth of literature establishing the relationship between social class origin and occupational status attainment, from the earlier work of Halsey, Floud and Anderson in 1962 (058) to that of Tyler (1977.119) fifteen years later. D. N. Ashton (1973, p.107.004), whose study was mainly concerned with the school, states, relating to careerless pupils

heading for unskilled jobs :-

"The fact that 40% of the people in our sample entered the same career channel as their parents, whilst the majority of the remainder entered channels adjacent to that of their parents, suggests that the mechanics of social inheritance plays a part."

The 'mechanics of social inheritance' appear to be highly significant on the basis of the above quotation, to the extent that it could be argued that the school could be virtually powerless to change the cultural patterns already acquired by working class youths. Whether or not this is so, it is certainly possible that the school could act as a partial reinforcer of home background differences.

One limitation on British research may have been that the division of working/middle class may be inadequate to explain career attitudes and job aspirations. The working class does not simply divide into the convenient skilled/unskilled and semi-skilled categories. It is suggested that the three working class cultural groups defined by M. P. Carter in 1966 (024) could be a base for future research, in that these groups could be highly significant in determining varied career attitudes. Carter's first group were the 'home centred aspiring', criteria for which were independence, respectability, greater integration of family units, greater support for the culture of the school and higher career aspirations for their children, who tend to respect their parents.

These children sought skilled jobs, with the girls looking for 'clean, respectable' work. The second group were the 'solid' working class, within which the families were less of a unit, less ambitious socially and less concerned for their childrens' future. The 'roughs' were Carter's third category. These families cared little for conventional codes of behaviour, lived for the present, had more children, repudiated the values of the school and work was only valued for the material benefits it brought, the physical in work being respected and mental work rejected.

It is significant that the criteria laid down by Carter for the roughs tallies somewhat with the 'careerless' youngsters of Ashton (1973. 004) and Willis' 'lads' (1977.124) who are discussed later in this study. If nothing else, Carter's work indicates the vast number of possible variables affecting career attitudes which could be significant, even before the school.

The British studies described above are dated; currently important insights into career aspirations are maturing from the great debate amongst sociologists on themes of cultural deprivation, some of which have been brought together by N. Keddie et al. (1976.073). Much of this debate stems from philosophical rather than empirical studies; indeed, its concern with cultural codes and behavioural patterns makes measurement in an empirical sense difficult. The use of statistical devices can measure, say, the relative significance of father's job status but cannot effectively explain the



processes through which father's job is actually absorbed into the cultural framework of his offspring's attitudes and behaviour relating to work. Thus interactional and ethnographical methodologies may be more informative.

The debate on whether the working class youngster is educationally and vocationally deprived due to limitations within his cultural inheritance, or whether working class cultures have 'worth in their richness and energy' (H. Entwistle, 1978.039), or indeed what is worthwhile in what culture, need not be summarised here. Relevant issues derived from the debate are referred to later in the chapter.

Appropriate to this section on social class origin as a determinant of career attitudes and job status attainment is the suggestion that cultural forces can be over-emphasised. Collective explanations cannot show why youngsters from the same or similar cultural backgrounds have widely differing attitudes. Working class pupils can have high job aspirations and attain jobs of high status. Those with low aspirations do not necessarily have them for the reasons given by H. Entwistle, who sees high aspirations as alien to working class culture. The explanation could be that of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977. 013) who explain working class academic and, by implication, career aspirations, in subjective, individual terms. The working class pupil can in a sense stand apart from his culture, see the collective relationship of his class with the educational system and balance 'subjective expectation with objective

probability'. This relationship accounts 'not only for the educational mortality of the working classes ..... but also for the variation in the attitudes of pupils from the different social classes towards work or success'.

Thus both Entwistle and Bourdieu and Passeron explain, by different routes, low working class career and educational aspirations in terms of social class origin, but not in terms of social deprivation. In both cases, the potential of the school to enhance aspirations is apparently limited.

(b) The School

Variables within the school have tended to be regarded in Britain as most significant determinants of career attitudes and aspirations and still present a wide field for research. Until the 1950s no-one seriously questioned that a major role of the school system was and should be, to differentiate pupils academically in order to feed them into the job status hierarchy. For each strata in this hierarchy there was an appropriate level of qualifications. The Hadow Report of 1926, the Norwood Report of 1941 and The 1944 Education Act recognised differences between academic, technical and 'modern' pupils, but the lip-service paid to the equality of status of schools for each of these three types was meaningless. The grammar school was the ladder to career success: it could be argued that it still is where it exists, in spite of the advent of the age of sociologists of education, whose early arguments to counter cultural deprivation accepted that the ladder to career success

was academic qualifications: they wanted the ladder widened so that more working class children could get on it. According to Tyler and others (W. Tyler, 1977. 119) they have not got on it, and a critical social question is still why they have not. It could be argued that the advent of comprehensive schools has not proved a solution because of the way many of these schools have been formally structured to retain overt academic differentiation of pupils.

It would serve no useful purpose to list the considerable body of literature on the effects on youngsters' attitudes, behaviour and job status attainment of differentiation processes within the formal structures of the school, which rank and separate pupils. Academic streaming, for example, must have some relationship with career aspirations and expectations as Hargreaves (1967. p.184. 059) summarised :-

"Those who are not allowed to take the external examinations will perceive, quite naturally, that their occupational aspirations must be relatively lower".

Equally likely, perhaps, is Ashton's (1973. 004) evidence that working class pupils in middle and higher school streams tend to get the skilled jobs and that unskilled labour is done by pupils from the lower streams of the secondary school.

Thus school stream and set should be variables correlating with job aspirations and affecting career attitudes, as should

academic achievement. Those pupils who are anti the formal curriculum purposes of the school should be low achievers academically and have low job aspirations. These are the pupils who also oppose the schools value structure and engage in disruptive and rebellious behaviour. In 1964, in the U.S.A., Stinchcombe laid the blame for non-conformist behaviour firmly at the door of the school; it was not the social background of the working class youth involved (1964. p.178. 111) :-

"The major practical conclusion of the analysis is that rebellious behaviour is largely a reaction to the school itself and to its promises, not a failure of the family or community. High School students can be motivated to perform by paying them in the realistic coin of future adult advantages. Except, perhaps, for pathological cases, any students can be motivated to conform if the school can realistically promise something valuable to them as a reward for hard work. But for a large part of the population, especially the adolescents who will enter the male working class, or the female candidates for early marriage, the school has nothing to promise -----".

In broad terms Hargreaves (1967. 059) and Lacey (1979. 078) in Britain, agreed with Stinchcombe. They were mainly interested

in the polarisation of pro and anti school cultures within the school, the development of which was attributed mainly to the differentiation process, the ranking and separation of pupils, which also created the realisation of how academic performance was related to career prospects.

Of particular significance is the implication, in these arguments, that working class pupils have high job status aspirations that are cooled off by failure within the school. In suggesting that this may not be the case, one is again returned to the cultural deprivation controversy.

E. Hopper (1971. 065); R. Turner (1971. 118) and P. Bourdieu (1973. 012) have by varied means shown how educational systems work to screen pupils and regulate ambition by demanding marks of success which are not available to those from an under-privileged background. Bourdieu analyses the cultural and linguistic skills which are needed to take advantage of what the education system has to offer. The theme of education systems being a screening process to maintain social and economic hierarchies is well known; (Doeringer and Piore, 1971. 034); apparent equal opportunities through academic attainment are severely limited. The reverse is however possible; low job aspirations stemming from cultural sources could be instrumental in lowering academic motivation. As has been shown, Entwistle (1978. 039) has cast new light on this deprivation theory by arguing that working class cultures are not necessarily deprived and their richness can be maintained by

opting out of career ambitions which are alien to the culture. If the job aspired to requires no qualifications there is no point in trying for academic success.

Thus, for pupils holding these attitudes, the views of Stinchcombe, Hargreaves and Lacey could be invalid; the school may have little influence on job aspirations.

If groups of working class pupils could be identified who entered the secondary school with low job aspirations; by which is meant aiming for unskilled or semi-skilled work; who also were aware that these jobs required no formal academic qualifications; then it could be suspected that these low aspirations arose from the milieu of their cultural inheritance. The word 'suspected' is used pointedly because they might have related low academic achievement with low status job in the Junior School. If such groups exist throughout the age range of the secondary school, it could be argued that, for some pupils, the secondary school has limited potential to influence their job aspirations. P. Willis<sup>(124)</sup> "lads" could be such a group of pupils. His working class kids, heading for and aiming for unskilled jobs, have low job aspirations which arise in a shop-floor culture, which is inherited from the home and the environment in which they live.

If, however, initial low job aspirations were raised during school life and this was related to academic success, or perceptions of potential success, then the school could be

exerting a significant influence. The same would conversely apply; the 'cooling off' of high job aspirations would relate to academic failure or perceptions of the same. Again, the conceptualisation has limitations and Willis' lads can again be used as an example, because their inherited shop-floor culture matures in an anti-school culture.

Clearly an in-depth, perhaps five-year longitudinal study would give much useful information, but this is beyond the scope of this investigation. Nevertheless the interactions of variables relating to job aspirations and expectations, such as academic success, self rating of academic potential and peer group identification, at each year of school life, could identify critical periods of school life which were significant in crystallising the job aspirations of some youngsters.

This critical period, or periods, at which a unity or mis-match of job aspirations and expectations and of educational and occupational aspirations is crystallised, could also be psychologically based, rather than cultural or experiential in the sense of experience of academic achievement/non-achievement. Perhaps Ginsberg's realistic stage has not been reached before this critical period and some pupils are simply not aware of the relationship between levels of job status and the academic requirements for varying job status levels. Further psychological evidence would arise from changes in the extent of fantasy job choices throughout school life; a significant falling off in the

number of fantasy choices could indicate increasing realism in career attitudes.

To summarise briefly, there may be crucial periods of school life, at which career attitudes rigidify and, for some, the likelihood of moving in different career directions is eliminated. For others, career attitudes and job aspirations may retain elements of rigidity throughout their school life. In spite of the mass of literature on the influence of the school as a determinant of career attitudes, there is still much work to be done, particularly concerning the extent to which the school, as an institution can, or should, influence these attitudes. Specifically there is a lack of contemporary data and it is not uncommon for researchers to utilise data collected much earlier. Examples of this are Betty Swift in 1973 (114) who used data collected in 1951, and D. N. Ashton (004) who again in 1973 used data from 1960 and 1962. There is a particular lack of information on career attitudes of lower and middle school pupils. Even careers teachers in the schools are uninformed since their work tends to centre on 4<sup>th</sup> year and older pupils. Also, there is no up-to-date research on girls.

(c) Peer Groups

There is a large body of research from America which considers peer groups as determinants of career aspirations, but no consensus of opinion is reached.

Haller and Butterworth (1960. 056), Krauss (1964. 077) and Haller and Sewell (1967. 057) all claimed, in the 1960s, that peer groups had a significant influence. However,



these studies made no quantitative measurement, compared with other influences and ignored the fact that identity of aspirations could have existed before friendship choice, or could have been a reason for choice.

The two latter criticisms can be levelled at the interesting study by Simpson (1962. 107) who found close correlations between level of occupational aspiration and the job status of best friends' fathers.

The studies of Duncan et al. (1968. 035), Williams (1972. 126) and Karweit (1976. 071), which measured the influence of peer groups, also tried to control for 'homophilic selection', that is the selection of new peer group members whose traits are more similar to the group's central tendencies than those of the average member. The findings again established the significant influence of peer groups, but the latest study in the field by Cohen (1977. 028), found that homophilic selection accounted for much of group homogeneity. Cohen concluded that peer group influence on educational and vocational aspirations has been consistently overestimated.

In Britain there have been no investigations into the direct influence of peer groups on career attitudes before the study of P. Willis (1977. 124). The work of Hargreaves, Lacey, Lambart (1976. 080) and others has tended to concentrate on the influence these sub-cultures have on deviant behaviour and educational rather than occupational aspirations. Nevertheless, a clear affinity has been established amongst anti-school cultures

between deviant behaviour, opposition to the school's formal curriculum and values and non-conformist career attitudes, where conformity is taken to be the career values of most teachers, most educationalists, indeed most people in 'middle class' society; in other words, attitudes which place value on high job status attainment through formal qualifications.

The evidence shows that boys' anti-school cultures tend to form in the middle years of the secondary school, presumably when the differentiation of pupils by academic categorisation is perceived by the pupils and when what Hargreaves calls the 'adolescent syndrome' arises, namely when young people begin to reject the authority of adults and seek independence and identity within the peer group. However, it is the differentiation process, the ranking and separation of pupils, that is seen as the dominant cause of this peer group identification and the realisation of how academic performance is related to career prospects. Pro-school peer group sources of homogeneity are motivations to achieve academic success, greater identity with teachers and the school values; with learning structures and high career aspirations.

There is very little evidence in Britain to show the relative influence of career attitudes in the homogeneity of pro and anti school peer groups, though D. N. Ashton (1973. 004), whose work is mentioned in more detail in Section (ii) of this Chapter, shows facets of group identity which discriminate between career orientated and 'careerless' working

class youth and high/low job aspirations are a crucial influence within a syndrome of criteria defining pro and anti school culture groups.

The work of P. Willis (1977. 124), which again is discussed in detail in Section (ii), appears to be the strongest evidence for career attitudes being a source of peer group identity. He found that a twelve strong group of working class lads had a commitment to enter the ranks of unskilled workers, which was at the heart of their sub-cultural homogeneity.

Adolescent sub-cultures also exist outside the school, the members of which may be mainly school colleagues, or may not. Even less is known about the forces that make for homogeneity, including work attitudes.

Confirmation of the existence of and some characteristics of deviant sub-cultures of adolescent boys in inner-ring socially deprived areas of large British cities must be established by the more doubtful sources of subjective experience and the media, which tends to concentrate on gangs in the newsworthy racial context. For example, a Sunday Observer report of 22nd January 1978 headed 'Police Dreadlock Report Starts a Row' (Reporter G. Brock) claimed that about 200 Rastafarian West Indians in gangs were responsible for most of the crime in Handsworth, Birmingham. The report that started the controversy was published by AFFOR; All Faiths for One Race Research (financed by the Cadbury Trust) 'against police

advice' and is now unobtainable. Another example, in a television interview (BBC) on January 30th 1978, Assistant Chief Constable Buck of the West Midlands, discussing gang affrays between white and West Indian boys in Wolverhampton, directly related the disturbances to unemployment, particularly as far as West Indians are concerned. He pointed out that the comparative rate of unemployment of West Indians to white was 3 : 1 in Wolverhampton and denied that some West Indians purposefully avoided work. There is a body of opinion, but no evidence, to suggest that some West Indians have inherited an anti-work culture. P. Willis (1977. 124), mentions such a possibility.

Teachers in inner-ring urban areas are well aware of the existence of gangs. From material collected for a lecture on problems of inner-ring schools (L. Raby, November 1977) comes the following quotation from a headmaster of a Birmingham, inner-ring school :-

"When gang troubles break-out I often contact other Heads of the schools on my boundaries to try and sort it out .... we know who they are, or most of them. Some of my lads get involved, but most of them have left school and are unemployed. Asians don't get involved, but the real trouble starts when you have a gang of West Indians against a gang of white kids".

It appears that large under-sixteen gangs do tend to centre on schools and assemble when school closes. Smaller gangs unite later in the evenings for social activities or even because they have nothing else to do, leading to vandalism and other anti-social activities. At weekends sporting activities are a purpose of assembly. Unemployment appears to be a factor uniting older youngsters, but to what extent is unknown, as is the influence of any other career associated factors.

(d) The Labour Market

The fact of increasing higher job status opportunities through changes in the occupational mobility pattern in Britain has already been established in the section headed Social Class Origin, at least according to the work of J. H. Goldthorpe et al. (1978. 053). He states that those engaged in professional, technical, administrative and managerial occupations, have risen from under 16% in 1931 to 27% in 1971, whereas those in manual work have fallen from 71% to 59%. The children of skilled workers still have greater upward occupational mobility than any other occupation group, but the children of unskilled workers are still unlikely to rise above the skilled worker status. These findings of Glass (1954. 048) still apply and, coupled with various economic forces affecting the occupational structure, upward occupational mobility for the sons of semi-skilled and unskilled workers is even more limited. These forces are a reduction in the amount of skilled work available compared with

semi-skilled, comparatively poorer rewards for skilled work and the fact that work that is not skilled is sometimes granted the skilled title in order to attract labour to monotonous work. The obvious example is the car assembly line.

For the purposes of this study, the relevant fact is that it is unlikely that changes in occupational mobility and structure affect the attitudes of working class youth. Much more relevant to them is the rapid growth of unemployment, particularly amongst young people, which has affected not only this country, but most of the Western World.

In Britain the proportion of young people under 25 amongst the unemployed has risen from 24 to 45% between 1974-77; with consistently higher rates of unemployment amongst the 15-20 year olds compared with the 20-25 year olds. Moreover, a hard core of long term unemployed youth has emerged, the percentage of young unemployed for six months or more having risen from 10 to 18% in the same years (Fyfe J. 1978. 043). There has been no research devoted to the effects of unemployment on the career attitudes of youth, but it is possible that unemployment is perceived by many youngsters, particularly working class youngsters, as a threat and is a source of their anti-social behaviour. The statistics of the Department of Employment and Productivity establish that school leavers with lower qualifications seeking unskilled jobs, have less chance of finding work (Community Relations Commission 1977. 029).

The fact that P. Willis (1978.124) stated that his 'lads' had little difficulty in finding unskilled work, does not conflict with the evidence, because there is always a need for short term, low paid labour, particularly in the catering trades and service work, such as petrol pump attendants.

It is certain that the attitudes of coloured youngsters, to some extent, are biased by perceptions of discrimination in the job market and that these attitudes could harden as jobs become more difficult to get. That coloured youths have less chance of getting higher status jobs was established by the Community Relations Commission in 1977 (029). The evidence showed that 8% of West Indian and 8% of Pakistani/Bangladeshis are in white collar jobs, compared with 40% of the white population. The figures for Indians and East African Asians are 20% and 30%, reflecting their involvement in commerce. Moreover, between 1973 and 1975 a doubling of the total unemployed brought about a roughly quadrupled percentage of ethnic minority group unemployment, with West Indian unemployment increasing five-fold. These are only extracts from a report, which gives clear evidence that young West Indians have less than half the chances of being employed on leaving school compared with white youth and also established the lower levels of academic and technical qualifications ultimately obtained by coloured workers.

There are few detailed research studies but much literature on the problems of ethnic minority group youngsters embarking on their careers. A four year study by S. Allen and

C. R. Smith (1974. 002) showed that in 1971, coloured youngsters, in the main, went into unskilled work, except for Asian boys gaining apprenticeships and West Indian girls entering nursing. Lower levels of qualifications were seen to explain the lower status of jobs entered, plus the fact that employers assumed that coloured youth born in this country were there to fulfil the same economic function of their parents. There was evidence of the cooling off of job aspirations at the top end of the secondary school. Only 10% of the coloured youngsters perceived discrimination in the job market, but this was put down to the fact that 'this additional obstacle, if admitted, presents an additional thread to their personal and social identity'. A number of other studies are, in the main, fact finding and descriptive; (Bosenquet 1973.014; Brooks 1975. 017; Fowler et al. 1977. 041; Gupta 1977. 054; James 1974. 069; Monk and Lomas 1975. 091; Brooks and Singh 1978. 018).

The list is too long for a complete bibliography and some of the literature does not use reliable or valid research techniques to find what it sought in the interests of racial harmony. Nevertheless, certain conclusions are established. Asians have high job aspirations, particularly in the form of seeking formal qualifications; they stay longer than other minority groups in full time education and now achieve academic standards not far below that of white children. Yet job status attainment is lower than whites, especially for Asian girls. West Indians have lower job aspirations, achieve less academically



and in the job status hierarchy, perceive there to be greater racial discrimination, generally and in the job market, and suffer more from unemployment.

(e) Ethnicity

Racial origin is then, in itself, another determinant of career attitudes and job aspirations and its influence is generally complex. The different ethnic groups show varying career interests and aspirations, for example the penchant of Asians for work in commerce. They hold varied values on the status of jobs and have differing perceptions of job discrimination.

The problem is to separate racial issues arising from career difficulties of coloured youngsters and racial discrimination in the job market from the overall emotive spectrum of race relations in general. That racist attitudes exist, particularly in the inner ring, multi-racial areas, can be taken as given, without going beyond the disturbances in London and Birmingham in the summer of 1977 and in Wolverhampton in 1978. That they exist in secondary schools is evidenced by the activities of the Young Wing of the National Front in Birmingham in 1978. That racial tension is increasing in schools is a subjective evaluation, though an unpublished survey by the Careers Guidance Course of St. Peter's College, Saltley in March 1978 found that eleven out of thirteen headmasters of multi-racial schools in Birmingham believed racial tension to be increasing. No evidence exists to estimate the extent to

which this tension originates in coloured pupils' perceptions of job discrimination or white resentment at non-indigenous workers being competitors for too few jobs. The following statements, based on the writings of Gupta (1977. 054), Fowler et al. (1977. 041) and Allen and Smith (1977. 002), need more extensive research :-

- 1) There is a growing alienation of coloured youths, particularly West Indians, from all helping agencies, and formal institutions of the establishment, including police. To some extent, career problems, augmented by unemployment, are a cause of this alienation.
- 2) Particular frustration is felt in some areas, again moreso by West Indians, at the cavalier attitudes of employers who do not respond to applications for jobs or summarily reject candidates. If such actions are not racialist in origin, they are perceived to be.
- 3) The 10% of coloured youth, who, a decade ago perceived there to be discrimination in the labour market, has increased.
- 4) The second generation of coloured pupils, born in this country, feel more strongly about constraints on their career prospects than do their parents.
- 5) Growing wageless, anti-work attitudes of West Indians are a reaction to restricted career opportunities.

P. Willis reports vaguely on the attitudes, as does a report in the Manchester Guardian of November 14th 1977. The complications of discriminating between the career attitudes of different racial minority groups are the difference between 1st and 2nd generations; lack of information on the extent of racial discrimination in job opportunities and at work; understanding conflicts between inherited and British culture and the extent to which schools can culturally and experientially reduce or heighten perceptions of racial discrimination.

(f) Sex and Sexism

Sex is another variable in the determination of career attitudes, but there is far less information on girls, since most studies in the field since the early 60s have concentrated on boys. There is a need to apply the new concepts of Ashton and Willis to girls. Even in the U.S.A., research has tended to concentrate on males. S. D. McLaughlin (1978, 084) confirms this, though he summarises a large body of research concerned with the characteristics and status of occupations entered by women, compared with men, not with the forces governing entry or the career attitudes of women.

It is remarkable that in the age of women's liberation there is no objective evidence on the attitude of younger females to their enhanced occupational and legal rights. One of the 'mini' pilot questionnaires used in the planning of this study, presented and discussed the questions relating to sexism with 27

lower stream girls, aged 14, in a comprehensive school. It appeared that some working class girls strenuously support all aspects of equality of the sexes, but they are resigned to the fact that, after marriage, which is still perhaps their main purpose, the male dominant sexism of their partners is inevitable on the domestic scene. The girls, destined for unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, often qualified their long term job aspirations by reflections on whether their husbands would let them work at all, or what type of work they would allow them to have. The fact that some working class men still retain strong male chauvinistic attitudes to the present day is confirmed by P. Willis (1977. p.3. 124). He throws no light on their partners' reactions to these attitudes. It may well be that job attitudes have not changed as much as might have been anticipated since the studies of T. Veness (1967. 122) and M. P. Carter (1975. 024). These investigations, based on data about 20 years old, found that roughly 50% of working class girls aspired to jobs in offices and shops and most of them attained their limited goals. About 30% ended up in factory jobs, though only about 5% wanted this work. They also found that marriage loomed large in girls' future career plans; Carter more so than Veness, who claimed that women were no longer content with routine jobs until the wedding bells ring. However, she was not only concerned with girls heading for working class occupations.

That girls' career attitudes must have changed is

implied by the 30% decline in the birth rate; how they have changed is speculation.

We are thus far less informed on the relative influences of home, school, job opportunities and peer groups on career attitudes of girls compared with boys. However, it would appear that there is no comparative sub-cultural career influence such as Willis' lad's, if the opinions of A. McRobbie and J. Garber (1976. 086) are accepted. Their article, not an empirical study, suggests that adolescent girls do not form large peer groups, that girls' friendship groups are normally less than 4. They are marginal members of boys' sub-culture groups; they resist authority but by different activities to boys; indeed their 'bedroom culture' of records, make-up and small talk often of 2 or 3 together, shuts out boys and adults and counters their sexual subordination. The purpose of the small cliques is to shut out others, including other girls, whereas in boys groups the emphasis is on male solidarity. Their opinions are a confirmation of J. Henry's views in America in 1963 (062). McRobbie and Garber confirm Veness' views (1967. 122) that working class girls spend more time at home than boys and focus more on mother, who has more to say in their career plans.

Yet larger girls' sub-cultures do exist and we know something of their nature from A. M. Lambart (1976. 080). However, she gives no insight into occupational aspirations as a welding force of her 'Sisterhood's' homogeneity. The group is significantly different from Willis' lads, in that it was a focus

for girls of above average ability and was characterised by mischief and disrespect for teachers which is far milder than the lads' forceful deviance. Most welcome would be a study to tease out whether peer groups exist and their nature, of girls of the type of the lads' girl-friends.

In summary, referring back to the quotation from S. Allen at the beginning of the Introduction to this study (1968. 001), there is indeed an evergrowing list of variables and clusters of variables determining the occupational attitudes of youth. These variables interact and overlap and a review of the entire spectrum by causal modelling or other statistical instruments seems a long way off or an impossibility. Insights into the processes through which these determinants operate are now reviewed in order to evaluate the potential of alternative methodologies to throw light on the problem.

(ii) Processes in the Acquisition of Career Attitudes

A determinant of career attitudes operates through a process or processes to form any attitude held. The term 'process' in the present context, has a narrower meaning than in some of the literature already described and therefore an explanatory preamble is demanded.

The word 'process' is here not used in the same sense as it is by Ginsberg and Super in the phrase constantly re-occurring in their writings, namely the 'development' process of occupational choice'. Their meaning is descriptive of a series of phases that youngsters go through, culminating in an implied rational career choice. Similarly, the descriptive nature of the choice process is implied by E. T. Keil et al. (1966. p.118. 074) :-

"Evidence from a wide range of research suggests that family neighbourhood peer groups, education received, influences from mass media, the extent of formal vocational guidance, all need to be considered, and that experience from these sources, as well as the nature of the work undertaken, are relevant to the development of any particular reaction towards working life. This implies that entering the world of work and adjusting to it is a process".

This statement would be viewed by P. Willis (1977. 124) as tautological in that it could be considered a broad and obvious restatement of the overall problem; it states rather than explains the generation of attitudes to work. It uses

the word process in a different sense from Willis who sees specifically cultural processes affecting occupational choice as complex, long term, rational dynamics: cultural forces interact to create a pattern of career behaviour in an individual and group and the extent to which this complex interaction can be comprehended rather than described is likely to be the critical measurement of success in explaining occupation choice of allocation.

Certainly it is possible that insights could be given into the controversy on whether working class children are culturally deprived or not, through research into the processes through which they internalise cultural forms. This controversy, already touched on, is placed in a vocational context by H. Entwistle (1978. 039). Analysing the conflicting educational concepts of equality, class, work and leisure, Entwistle draws together a number of threads relevant to the role of cultural forms in vocational aspirations. He points to the belief of many sociologists, here and in the U.S.A., that low working class levels of job aspirations can determine evaluation of the importance of educational achievement, not vice versa. Perceptions of earning and career opportunities can make staying longer at school and educational achievement appear irrelevant. Entwistle suggests that people from low income sub-cultures are doomed to remain in their class background, not because they fail to see education as a ladder to greater job status, but because greater vocational aspirations and expectations are alien to their



culture. Moreover, perhaps 'doomed' is the wrong word, because to talk of cultural deprivation might be patronising, since the 'richness and energy' of working class cultures could be equal or superior to life in the middle classes. Perhaps some working class kids realise this, albeit dimly, so that the school has little hope of motivating them to higher job status aspirations. Indeed, it raises the question of whether schools should attempt to do so.

Willis' study is concerned with a group of low aspiring working class youngsters and the processes through which cultural determinants operate to produce these low aspirations. For this reason, and because it is a unique attempt methodologically in the area of career attitudes, Willis' study demands closer analysis.

His study falls into a context of previous investigations into the adjustment of unskilled workers to their monotonous and sometimes hard manual labour (Roy, 1960. 102; Walker 1952. 123) and of unscholarly pupils to the perceived boring and pointless routine of academic work, (Sofer 1974. 110). Workers set standards of performance that authority cannot influence, conspire to conceal information, develop techniques for getting by without effort or without attracting attention and introduce distractions to avoid work. Rituals and games are introduced into the work and school situation and management and teachers are purposefully thwarted.

Thus there are sub-cultural groups at school and at work

which have similar anti-authoritarian and anti-work nuclei of homogeneity and a significance of Willis' work is that he has established direct conceptual relationships between the two.

Another study by D. N. Ashton (1973. 004; also see Ashton and Field 1976. 005) is recognised by Willis as taking more systematic cognisance of cultural forces and does move towards some interpretation of cultural processes as defined. Ashton, using data from 1962, studies two channels through which the movement from school to work takes. One leads through the lower streams of the secondary school into 'careerless', unskilled occupations: the other through the higher secondary modern and middle comprehensive streams into skilled, working class careers. Ashton says that 'these scholastic positions act as a feeder channel into occupations of a semi-skilled and skilled type'. Ashton's sample was male only and he theorises on the mechanisms via which the two groups become committed to the different types of work through the acquisition of difference frames of reference. Analysis is from two perspectives, the societal, namely the properties of the configurations the groups formed, in a social sense, with teachers and peers at school: and experiential, the experience of the groups moving through school to work, in particular experience of academic success and failure. Briefly, the frame of reference characteristic of Ashton's careerless pupils is acquired, partly, from the low S.E.S. of their families and from restricted language codes and other cultural impediments which generate conflict with teachers. Limited scholastic

ability allocates these pupils to the lower streams and they see themselves as failures and rationalise by rejecting the dominant values transmitted by the school. They become an anti-school sub-culture and, as Ashton says, the peer group becomes their main area of support and reassurance as to their own identity. They are committed on the road to unskilled labour; school work is not a means of self-advancement and they have little involvement with it.

The frame of reference of boys committed to a 'working class career' originates partly from their upper-working class and lower middle class origins, which gives them higher degrees of congruence with teachers and perceptions of superiority in relation to the lower streams. School experience is rewarding, school does not see the end of their formal education and they are concerned with the future, if only the short term future, long enough to get an apprenticeship and become a skilled worker.

Willis, whilst commending Ashton's recognition of cultural factors, criticises him on the grounds that 'such cultural accounts can be derived simply from the well known and conventionalised facts of the situation'. Willis by his ethnographic 'involvement' methodology, a novel approach in this context, claims to have penetrated certain long term rational dynamics of the 'cultural process of occupational choice'. He suggests that the willing entry into harsh and boring, unskilled work, for certain groups of white indigenous males, arises from an identification with an anti-school peer group sub-culture.

This sub-culture 'penetrates' the formal culture of the school and its guidance processes, but filters and distorts the information it receives from these sources, thereby enabling the willing placement of its members at the lower end of the labour market. This process takes place through the interaction amongst the members of the anti-school culture, which absorbs concepts from a broader working class culture, the culture of the shop floor. Two specific concepts of both cultures are dominant, namely, status arising from a pride in being able to cope with hard manual labour as opposed to mental work and a type of male chauvinism which regards women as inferior since they are perceived to be unable to cope with physical effort. Mental work in school and factory and jobs not requiring physical effort are conceived as effeminate.

The sub-culture of Willis' 'lads', which he studies mainly in the context of the school, also held racist attitudes; certain dirty jobs, even lower in status than the unskilled work the lads aimed for, were for coloureds only.

The 'lads' adopted work avoidance techniques at school, found means of resisting authority and defeated boredom by 'having a laff' and disruptive behaviour. This playing of the system relates directly to similar attitudes on the shop-floor. Thus the lads learn to prepare for the future which they look forward to willingly, since it offers familiar cultural benefits.

Therefore the school plays a dominant if unwilling role in structuring the career attitudes of the lads via the processes

which lead them to reject the formal institutional teachings related to achievement and aspirations in school work and career. Within the school the lads are being initiated into the labour of the shop-floor, which is inevitable for them. Careers guidance and counselling for the lads could be argued to be pointless; moreover its purposes would be 'penetrated' and limited, that is filtered and misinterpreted to fit the myths of the sub-culture.

Attempts to improve guidance services could be argued to be harmful in that they might put further pressures on the lads, pressures that would have to be resisted in order to enable integration into the shop-floor culture and maintain the supply of unskilled labour. The message is one of pessimism; the school appears powerless to counter the myths of a broad working class culture which comes down from parents, mainly fathers and presumably other adults within the lads social environment.

Willis' work, briefly summarised above, raises a number of questions, some of which give significant pointers to future research in the field :-

- (a) Willis was not using a hypothesis approach or testing out a theoretical framework with defined parameters. We do not know at what stage he conceptualised the relationship between anti-school and shop-floor cultures or, for that matter, the extent to which he was, by selection from tapes, establishing what he had already conceptualised.

(b) He selected, to use his own words at a seminar at Aston University in March 1978, 'a group of 12 out of about 100' boys in one school year, the group having been identified by the school as being the most non-conformist. Five other groups were studied in the same school and other schools, but little detail is given about them and they play only bit parts in Willis' drama. An interesting issue is, if Willis' group are about 12% of the school year, what number have the cultural and social potential to belong to the lads and why do they not belong? They could have other cultural, social or academic assets or liabilities which excludes them from membership of the lads' peer group. Presumably the interaction within the group produces the constellation of elements of their sub-culture which, perhaps, could not be acquired by many of their peers. Willis introduces an element of mysticism when he states that the group is more than its parts; the meaning is not clear but a unique cultural identity is implied.

Willis stated, in his seminar, that between the lads and the conformists were pupils who had limited attachments to both groups; if in fact the 'ear'oles' are a group. An interesting theoretical question that arises is, are the lads the only homogeneous peer group in the school year and, if there are others, could there be some greater overall socialising, or other force, that segregates pupils into various groups that hold varied career attitudes?

Such a force could be the school; streaming, for example, could be responsible. Ashton believes that anti-school attitudes were derived from feelings of academic inferiority. The lads recognised their academic limitations compared with the ear'oles, but saw themselves as superior in nous and ability to control their environment. This process could be a rationalisation supportive of individual and group identity.

(c) Willis studied his group in the fourth and fifth school years, which raises a vital question as to when the homogeneity of the group was crystallised. The same question is appropriate for other groups, if they exist. It is possible that there are critical periods which determine the formation of career attitudes and career paths to be followed. Spike, one of the lads, did not recognise any identity with the others until his second year :-

"I just kept meself to meself like, not knowing anybody, it took me two years to get in with a few mates".

However, he could spot the ear'oles in his first year.

B. Swift in her 1973 study (114), recognised the significance of crucial periods and critical choice points in career determination. However, her study, based on data from the early fifties and on interviews at the ages of 14 and 25, identified clearly only one critical point, namely for Grammar School pupils deciding whether or not to enter the Sixth Form. Her study has limited relevance

to this investigation, but it is a reasonable hypothesis that, for some working class pupils, there are specific periods when the relationship between academic and career status becomes realistic, that is when career possibilities become realistic in the sense defined by E. Ginsberg.

(d) For both Ashton and Willis, the school is a determining factor in career attitudes, though through different cultural and experiential processes. Neither give any deep insights into the cultural and non-cultural processes involved in the acquisition of career attitudes before secondary school. The working class is assumed by both writers to be a single entity, or at least a simple division of skilled/unskilled. This is possibly understandable for Willis, given his Marxist interpretation of society and for Ashton, given the limitations of his data. However, there are stratas and sub-cultures within the working class, for example those already described in the work of M. P. Carter (023). These divisions could determine predispositions to acquire some critical career attitudes from early life.

(e) In terms of job aspirations Willis' lads and Ashton's careerless pupils see themselves committed to a future of grafting and general labour. An overwhelming purpose of careerless labour is seen to be instant money. The job satisfactions sought by Ashton's careerless pupils, such as working with



machines and meeting people, could arguably be identified with the mental/manual, masculine/feminine dimensions of Willis. However, Ashton again emphasises here a rationalisation of self-perceptions of failure at school, whereas Willis' lads commit themselves willingly to unskilled labour. Yet more can be read into the comments of the lads; cultural processes originating in early life could be the source of this commitment and these processes, giving pride and status in heavy, unskilled work, do not prevent them having a touch of the ear'oles about them.

Joey :-

"I'll make them see that I'm worth a bit of investment and perhaps I'll get on a fucking course".

Spansky and Will gained formal apprenticeships and were delighted that they could achieve so quickly and easily that for which the conformists were struggling so desperately.

Ashton could be right; unseen by Willis, there could be within the lads' culture, a process of rationalisation of inferior feelings much more potent than is apparent.

(f) An interesting question is the stage at which the lads accept the superior position of the ear'oles;

whether it is before they adopt their inverted notion of work/status, whether it is a concurrent process, or whether it is afterwards.

(g) Willis and Ashton found that, for unskilled work, particular job choice does not matter; the phrase 'job choice', according to Willis, is a middle class construct. Yet, in fact, there are vast differences between unskilled jobs; differences in degrees of physical effort required and in personal independence. It is worth speculating that, for all their nous and wit, the lads are but dimly aware of the range of unskilled jobs available that have significantly different job characteristics. On the other hand and less likely, the lads are not concerned with the less important, surface features of the jobs because they have penetrated the reality of the exploitation of their class.

(h) Willis recognises the advances in vocational guidance services in that they have moved from the realm of the pure psychologist to the social psychologist and to an emphasis on self conceptual development in relation to job and life style. Yet he only appears to be concerned with guidance services in that he perceives that his thesis could be interpreted as a threat to the motivation of workers in those services. Towards the end of his book he

offers palliatives, though he states firmly that careers education fails to reach working class lads. He is concerned with the collective rather than the individual; with the collective inevitability of the career allocation of his lads. Yet individuals do thwart the system; M. P. Carter (1975. 024) shows how they defy and challenge institutions of employment and family and leave jobs they do not enjoy. Two of Willis' lads succeeded in escaping. There is still a role for the counsellor. Willis' Marxist concern with the collective inevitability of the working class being exploited under capitalism, with many doomed to the monotonous drudgery of boring labour, nevertheless remains a pessimistic message for guidance workers, particularly when some, like the lads, willingly accept their lot and manipulate the guidance services to rationalise their attitudes. The lads themselves are not forced to obey the structural and economic determinants of their work life, cultural patterns operate to produce "exploitation" willingly. Presumably Willis wants to avoid the exploitation, not the drudgery of unskilled work, since no Communist state or collective economy has eliminated this drudgery. Communist China, in fact, has glorified the dignity of manual labour.

Arguments have already shown that themes of sociological analyses that stress working class cultural deprivation

are now being questioned and that some aspects of working class sub-cultures are seen by some as more worth while than their middle class counterparts. Some of these aspects could be related to the world of work and many unskilled men and women could enjoy not only the social environment of their work, but the actual so-called boring and hard nature of the work tasks.

(i) Willis has made a micro-study of a small peer group: he has no overall theory of occupation choice or allocation and only claims to have established 'broad guides for the development of a more general theory of cultural forms and their role in social reproduction and the production process'. In particular, like most studies of career attitudes, he deals only with males. From all sources, all we have for girls are descriptive and factual information on jobs entered into, from studies dating back to the 1950's and 1960's. These studies assumed that the birth rate of those times was a norm and that the role of wife and mother was a permanent factor in the attitudes of girls to their careers. Times have changed: research is needed into the extent and form of changes in female career attitudes.

(j) Willis is also only concerned with white indigenous youth. Ethnic minorities, which are part

of the lads' world are only involved insofar Willis tries to explain how the lads' sub-culture reacts to West Indians and Asians. The lads do hold racist attitudes, particularly against Asians, who have some of the ear'oles' characteristics. West Indians receive some sympathy from the sub-culture and have some affinities with it. The lads' racist attitudes to their coloured peers come through as rather confused stereotypes and although there are links with career attitudes, (for example there are very low status 'dirty' jobs which are only appropriate for coloured workers), there is no indication that racism has any real depth of influence on the lads' sub-culture.

There has been no research in this country into the cultural and economic processes through which racial minority groups enter the labour market, though Willis does suggest that second generation West Indians do have cultural responses and mediating insights similar to the lads in relation to school and labour market. They also could inherit cultural concepts of wagelessness, refusal to work and poverty, which could be, in part, adopted by white indigenous youth as unemployment persists.

(k) Willis does speculate on the consequences of long term structured unemployment, but unless pupils

have an adequate knowledge of the labour market and job opportunities, which may not be the case, unemployment could not be regarded as a basic determining factor in career attitudes. However, it could affect the processes through which these attitudes are acquired, both at an experiential and cultural level. Media reporting and experience of relatives and friends could, for example, lower job aspirations and expectations, be motivations to higher educational achievement, or widen the range of work considered. Culturally anti-work and wageless attitudes could be stimulated or reinforced.

In summary, Willis' work has been concerned with the dynamics of cultural processes, using ethnographic methodologies. These methodologies are the subject of a wider sociological debate and their use is new in the area of occupational choice research. At the present stage of knowledge, it has been argued that (Pearson and Twohig, 1976. 099) 'ethnographic study provides intellectuals with a source of hopeful entertainment' and shows how the individual survives and operates in an era when mass responses which threaten human subjectivity are at the centre of most dialogues. It is an alternative, if no substitute, for objective scientific research and it can give the social scientist valuable insights into the directions that their research might move in areas where there are many directions

possible and apparently unlimited numbers of operative variables. Such an area is the study of determinants of and processes involved in occupational choice or allocation: here Willis has given such valuable insights.

(3) THE TRANSFER FROM SCHOOL TO WORK, PROBLEMS AND POLICY

(i) International Aspects

G. Neave (1977. 094) reporting on a European Contact Workshop experiment in 1977, has emphasised how the international economic crisis has moved the problems of the transition from school to work from the fringes to the centre of educational research. Throughout the western world youth unemployment has highlighted growing tensions in the movement from full time education to work and increasing separation between academic study and vocational education. K. A. Kieura (1978. 076) has surveyed world wide reaction to these problems.

Growing concern and action by government, international agencies and educational institutions is not only motivated by economic forces; these bodies have been turned to, either as scapegoats, or aids in time of trouble, the trouble being social discontent amongst youth which has shown itself in growing antagonism to formal institutions, increasing crime rates, even international terrorism.

Yet youth unemployment is often seen as the heart of the problem. It has been in the 1970's an international problem and, though comparisons between countries are statistically difficult because definitions of unemployment differ and different means are used for data collection, there is no doubt that unemployment has increased in all countries and that the youngest members of the labour force have been hardest hit. (Fyfe 1978. 043).



Unemployment has not been the main driving force of growing interest in entry into first job in the third world, where the concern has been with expanding production, mainly in agriculture. There has also been a spin-off from the wealthier nations, leading to research projects and financing of experiments. In India and Sri Lanka schemes are in operation introducing factory work experience into schools and in Gujerat (India) a number of secondary schools have become operational farms or plantations. Similar programmes are found in Tanzania and Ghana, where training in agricultural skills is common on the school curriculum (Sinclair 1977. 108). In the third world the school is particularly significant in tackling problems of the transfer from school to work, since with technological advances and industrialisation, the home is less capable of transmitting appropriate attitudes, values and behaviours.

Internationally, necessity has demanded that Government and other action has often preceded research, which produced few conclusions appropriate for a broad international spectrum due to the particular nature of the economic and educational structures of individual countries (Neave 1977. 094). In the U.S.A. there has been many studies since the 1960's of the problems of work adjustment of the disadvantaged, including Miskimins and Baker (1974. 089); Oetting et al. (1974. 095); Darby and Kauffman (1974. 031); Miller and Oetting (September and October 1977. 087. 088).

These investigations have been concerned only with

adolescents but have had considerable influence on the allocation of expenditure by the Federal Government on training and job placement. This expenditure, according to Miller (October 1977. 088) has, nevertheless, had little success. Broadly, these studies have established that work adjustment is a long term process and that work experience and the learning of job values and job maintenance behaviours are essential.

In Europe research has centred on the European Cultural Foundation in Paris and the latest studies financed by them are summarised in their Publication List of April 1978. In 1976 the Education Division of the Directorate of Research, Science and Education, E.E.C. approved a budget of £7.6 million, specifically to study the 'Transfer from Education into Working Life'.

International policy can only be here presented in the broadest of frameworks. Measures taken to counter adolescent unemployment have centred on generating more work; finding means of extending vocational guidance and training to enable youngsters to benefit from existing job opportunities; measures to increase youngsters' work opportunities at the expense of adults, and welfare programmes for youngsters during unemployment. The measures taken to counter unemployment have usually been temporary in nature, often aimed at specific age groups or depressed geographical areas. Subsidies to employers and other such incentives have been common; also early retirement, shorter working hours for those in employment and extended education. A

unique experiment in Holland was a job sharing scheme, wherein two people alternatively worked and drew unemployment benefit, the purpose being to counter the psychological ill-effects of idleness. The direct form of job creation operates in Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, Canada and the U.S.A. Doubts as to their effectiveness have centred round the question as to the extent to which they distort long term, structural changes in the labour market. In Japan, an employment fund, with contributions from employer, employee and Government, is being considered with the object of sharing the cost burden of unemployment through different periods of the economic cycle. On the basis of current knowledge, according to J. Fyfe (1978. 043), it is not clear to what extent current international youth unemployment is cyclical or long term. If, as is likely, it is the latter, it would appear that current international policies will require a massive overhaul.

(ii) Policy in Britain

The 1970's have similarities with the first decade of this century in that in both periods government acquired or was forced into an enhanced social conscience relating to the problems of adolescents entering the world of work. In the first period the reforming Liberal Government provided Labour Exchanges and gave powers and limited resources to the new L.E.A.'s to assist school leavers, but no nationally organised system existed until the advent of the Youth Employment Service just before the Second World War. This service has remained the main instrument for dealing with the transition period from school to work. Its legal purposes, defined by the Ince Committee on the service in 1945 and confirmed by the Albemarle Committee of 1965, were to provide young people under 18 and their parents with information on employment, to give vocational guidance in the later years at school, to help find suitable employment and suitable workers for employers and to follow-up their work with further help to under 18 year olds. The vocational guidance given was negligible, since most pupils only met the Youth Employment Officer once or twice due to shortage of officers and high case loads. In fact, the service did not seriously attempt to catch up with the practical lessons of developmental, psychological theory.

"It is ... only in the last decade that the significance



of career education as a continuous process has gained anything approaching general recognition" (D.E.S. 1973. 032).

The service was reformed in 1973/4, when its objectives were defined as developing self-awareness, extending childrens' thinking about opportunities in life and work generally and preparing them to make considered choices. At that time the Youth Employment Officer was renamed a Careers Officer and the dual system, existing since the 1930's, was abolished, which meant that the L.E.A. could no longer opt to have its service provided by central government. The service was also given a new duty, under the Employment and Training Act of 1973, to expand its guidance services into further and higher education. In 1975, 230 extra unemployment specialist officers were allocated to areas of severe unemployment, with a further 90 appointments in 1977. However, the loss of the benefit function, with demanded weekly attendance by the unemployed at Careers Offices, has been lost, resulting in the loss of regular contact.

The numerous aid schemes for adolescent unemployment have imposed greater pressures and responsibilities than could be absorbed by the additional staff, so that the change of balance between guidance and placement has not made great progress.

The service has always had an ambiguous relationship with guidance services provided by the careers teacher and the school and its new purposes have not clarified the position:

Guidance within the school received an impetus from the beginnings of school counselling in the 1960's. The long experience of the provision of counselling services in American schools prompted the movement to introduce a similar service in England. Initiative came from L.E.A. sources, notably North Staffordshire and the first counsellor training course began at Keele University in 1965. However, the hope of the 1960's of a counsellor in every secondary school, operating in the fields of personal, educational, social and vocational problems, has not materialised. Finance was again a problem, given luke-warm support from central and local government. Nor were schools sympathetic: Headteachers, given an option of appointing a counsellor, would generally prefer a full-time teacher, particularly when staff rooms viewed unsympathetically, or even with open hostility, counsellors with a limited teaching load. The hopes of expanding vocational counselling, either from the school or the Careers Service, have been buried in the magnitude of the unemployment problem.

There is no doubt that, under some D.E.S. encouragement, guidance services in the schools have improved since the depressing picture painted by the 1973 D.E.S. survey (1973. 032). This comprehensive investigation, which sent questionnaires to 4,970 schools and visited 87, was conducted through H.M. Inspectorate and painted a depressing picture. Only 47 of the 87 schools had a 'policy

for careers in the broadest sense'. Of the schools responding to questionnaires, only about two thirds had careers work on the curriculum, much of which was at the top end of the school and which constituted an average of one fifth of the work load of one teacher. Of the large schools, only 19% spent more than £75 per annum on materials and visits for careers education. The general conclusion was that 'preparation for living and working in the adult world is not at present generally accepted or put into practice except by a minority of schools'.

It is in the area of services to counter unemployment that government action has significantly expanded, to the extent that policy covering the transition from school to work has re-cast completely the traditional role of intervention by advice, encouragement and broad policy directives, to one of direct and purposeful national and local action.

Central Government has given financial and other incentives to the education service to provide more full-time education as an alternative to unemployment; also to offer job creation and works experience schemes. The main bulk of the expansion of opportunities for the unemployed has come through the Manpower Services Commission. The Employment Services Agency uses its specialist advisers mainly for older teenagers, but school leavers

can use the Service. The Training Services Agency has stimulated industry, through the Industrial Training Boards, to expand industrial training programmes by means of incentive grants and levy exemptions. Two major T.S.A. schemes are Occupational Selection Courses, which include some training in job and social skills and short industrial courses of about 13 weeks. T.S.A. also operates, for about 18,000 people per year, direct training schemes, mainly in the area of semi-skilled work. Twenty-six Employment Rehabilitation Centres, run by E.S.A. are mainly for the disabled.

In 1972 the Community Industry Scheme began operating through the National Association of Youth Clubs, for the most disadvantaged and unemployable youth. They undertake work projects of social value in groups of 8 to 10. There are 45 units operating and 4,500 youngsters were involved in 1976/7.

The Work Experience Programme began in 1976, open to unemployed 16 to 18 year olds. In the first six months 16,500 places had been provided, mainly in service industries with an average cost of £423 per annum per head. 73% of trainees have some C.S.E. or 'O' level grades.

The largest project for temporary employment and work experience was the Job Creation Programme, introduced in 1975. In eighteen months £95 million had been spent and over 68,000 jobs created, mainly labour intensive work



sponsored by local government, but also by private agencies. Roughly one half of the workers are in the 16 to 18 age group.

Other means employed are subsidies to employers such as the Youth Employment Subsidy 1976, a grant of £10 per week for 26 weeks for extra youngsters employed and the temporary Employment Subsidy of 1975.

A number of other Government schemes are in operation and their complexity has not been free of criticism. In 1976, the Manpower Services Commission set up a working party to consider means of ensuring that all 16 to 18 year olds should have the opportunity for training, participation in job creation schemes or work experience. The so-called Holland Report was published in May 1977 (M.S.C. 1977. 083).

Circular 10/77, D.E.S., of September 1977, introduced a programme on the lines of the Holland Report, to operate from April 1978. The number of training and work experience places for 16 to 18 year old unemployed was roughly doubled to 130,000, offering 230,000 individual opportunities. These are of two types, work preparation courses and work experience. The former, provided by T.S.A. through local authorities and employers, provides induction and industrial courses to assess the individual's potential and semi-skilled training: the latter is provided by employers, private sponsors, the Social Services and voluntary organisations and the duration is 6 or 12 months for each person. Courses vary as appropriate to the geographical area, but there is special provision

for ethnic minority groups.

The Holland proposals have had difficulties in getting off the ground, especially involving who should operate the programme, civil servants or local committees. Seven hundred civil servants have been recruited and the overall cost is estimated at £800 million.

This high figure indicates the phenomenal growth and control of resources of the M.S.C. In four years, from 1974, its operating budget rose from £125 to £630 million. This growth highlighted, more than anything else, the government concern on the problem of youth unemployment. However, the new Conservative Government of May 1979, after two weeks in office, cut by £48 million the existing schemes to reduce youth unemployment. The total resources of the M.S.C. have since been cut by a total of £150 million and further cuts are imminent.

International problems and Government policy for helping young people into the labour market are only an indirect concern of this study, though they provide a relevant backcloth insofar as the question is raised as to what extent limited resources should be expended after leaving school, compared with using some of those resources for curricula projects and other schemes during school life. The career attitudes of working class youngsters may provide insights relevant to future policy.

Having reviewed theoretical approaches to the entry of

young people into the labour market and outlined the present practical problems of the transfer from school to work, the following chapter concentrates on the purposes and specific areas of study of this investigation.

### CHAPTER III

#### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

##### (1) THEORETICAL CONCEPTS AND POTENTIAL AREAS OF STUDY

It has been argued that there is no overall sociological theory of occupational choice or allocation that is acceptable to even a small minority of experts in the field, due to an apparent inexhaustible list of variables involved in the determination of occupational entry. Nor is there any short term hope of such a theory being evolved. This paper makes no direct attempt to produce a general theory and argues that, for some time, progress towards a general theory will be through a process of enlightenment by research into specific segments of the total problem, into clusters of variables or by deeper insights into how determinants become sources of meaning in the cultural milieu to affect behaviour in, or attitudes to, the world of work.

The large body of research available points to many directions in which future research could aim; the following areas to be explored have, it is suggested, been established in Chapter II to be, in this country, the most worthwhile :-

- (a) Wide ranging research projects into the relative influence on job status attainment and career attitudes of variables with the home, school, peer group and labour market do not necessarily demand a hypothesis design based on an overall theory of occupational

choice/allocation. Clusters of theoretical concepts could be tested out, which might prove enlightening in a field where there is a lack of recent data on career aspirations and attitudes. Even factual information, on its own, could serve purposes of policy and of helping to structure other research designs.

(b) Variables associated with unemployment, ethnicity and sexism have apparently assumed enhanced significance in the past decade. Facts are available relating to numbers of unemployed and to job status attainments of ethnic minorities and women, but the interrelation between these and other variables is unknown.

(c) Modified American theoretical models relating to job status attainment and occupational mobility, which has been used in other European countries, could be tested out in Britain.

(d) The relationships of job status attainment and career attitudes, particularly aspirations, with the social and academic structures of schools and with academic attainment are tantalising in that these relationships have been established but it is not known which of these groups of variables is dependant on the other group, or how the dependence alters for different individuals and sub-cultures. For example, academic failure may cool off career aspirations, or low career aspirations demotivate academically, resulting in low

academic achievement. The sources of high or low aspirations could lie in pre-secondary school cultural forces, rather than in experience of success or failure at school. There may be critical parts in the life experience of youth which are crucial to job status attainment, at which the likelihood of moving in a variety of career directions is limited or eliminated. A mis-match of job aspirations and expectations could explain the rebellious, oppositional cultural form of some young peoples' attitudes, a different explanation from that of P. Willis, who saw the opposition of his lads arising in the 'pure' cultural milieu.

(e) Willis' work points to a number of directions worthy of study and to the value of ethnographical techniques in the area of occupational choice/allocation. His theories could be tested out, using his methodology with a similar group of 'lads'. It would be interesting to see whether similar sub-cultures existed in a large school, a mixed school, an external culture other than the black country, in a less densely populated conurbation or in an area where the production process involves different industries.

Studies of similar peer groups to the lads could aim to find out whether they come from a specific sub-culture within the working class, such as the aspiring, solid or roughs of M. P. Carter's analysis, which has been outlined. Again the school could be the dominant factor

in producing peer groups like the lads and this could be because there is an element of rationalisation of inferior status within the school. This could be a product of the lower streams; if so there is, perhaps, a stage at which their identity as a group begins to crystallise and they begin to draw on the consoling resources of the shop floor culture.

Willis' movement towards a more general theory of cultural forms and their role in maintaining the conditions of material production in the capitalist mode could be refined and related to other sub-cultures of youngsters, for examples Ashton's career orientated working class, middle class grammar school, or independent school peer groups. Even further, sub-cultures of adults in the stockbroker belt could be hung on the theoretical framework. All these groups have one great difference from the lads; they are all, to some extent, actively committed to the maintenance of capitalism. According to Willis, the lads are indifferent.

A final pointer to future study, from Willis, is that his theories are closely dependent on his ethnographic methodology, which needs closer analysis and a search for other methods to complement his technique and test his findings. His ethnographic methodology for studying cultural forms and forces is, in his own words, not adequate enough to explore the symbolic systems and

articulations which constitute the material of the cultural. A more interpretive analysis is required if the account of a culture is to be in any sense full. It is clear that questionnaire and interview techniques could serve no purpose here, but they could be instrumental in defining the areas in which ethnography would be more useful and relevant in solving at least some of the problems of career research.

Thus there is a wide field ripe for study; the area chosen for this investigation is defined not only by the objective evidence provided in Chapter II of a need to solve specific problems, but by resources available and the experience of the investigator.

The study is set in the context of the school. It is concerned with the identification of career attitudes, particularly job aspirations, of working class youth in an urban, multi-racial, low S.E.S. area, the determinants of these attitudes and the processes through which determinants operate in the taking up of these attitudes. In this context, the main attempt is to address the problems set out in (d) above.



(2) HYPOTHETICAL MODELS AND AIMS

The issues taken up by this study are summarised here and related to aims.

The overall hypothesis is :-

Variables within the dimensions of home, school, peer group, labour market and the social environment external to the school and home: also sex and ethnic origin, are significantly related to career attitudinal variables, particularly job aspirations. The aim is to identify and measure these relationships for working class, secondary school pupils, male and female, of various ethnic groups in a low S.E.S. urban area.

More specifically :-

(a) From the home and its social environment, significant determinants of career aspirations and attitudes will be :-

The status of parents' jobs.

Family size and make up.

Ethnic origin of parents.

Parents' career and educational aspirations for their children.

Extent of social identity with family compared with peer groups.

Attitudes to pro/anti social behaviour outside home and school.

An aim of the study is to establish the comparative strength of these determinants in producing varied patterns of career attitudes and levels of job status aspirations

and to give limited insights into the societal and experiential processes through which the determinants operate to facilitate or inhibit the transfer to various kinds of work.

(b) From low S.E.S. home environments some youngsters will take up elements which instill low job aspirations which will be influential in producing attitudes opposed to the formal curriculum and values of the school. The converse statement is also true.

(c) From the school environment, some young people will take up experiential and societal elements and attitudes which will significantly influence their job aspirations and other career attitudes. Specific determinants will be :-

The academic structure of the school, especially streaming.

Pupils self perceptions of academic ability.

Pro/anti formal school curriculum and pro/anti school values attitudes.

Perceptions of relationships between jobs aspired to and formal qualifications required for those jobs.

An aim is to determine the extent to which these factors arising within the school act as mediators to lower or raise career aspirations and change attitudes.

(d) During the first five years of secondary school, there may be critical periods in the internalisation of cultural and educational experiences, which are crucial in the

taking up of varied career attitudes and in the crystallisation of future career prospects. This study aims to identify these periods and their determinants.

(e) A mis-match of career aspirations and expectations will significantly affect educational attitudes and other career attitudes and the extent to which such a mis-match exists will vary according to the level of job status aspired to.

(f) Peer groups will influence job aspirations and that influence will be greater the more leisure time is spent with friends and the more friends are perceived to have similar interests in the world of work and to hold similar attitudes to the school's curriculum and value structure.

Aims are to measure the extent of peer influence, compared with the influence of home and school, and to identify the career attitudes which are most dependent on peer influence.

(g) Perceptions of young people of factors within the labour market will significantly influence their career attitudes, particularly job aspirations and expectations. These factors are unemployment, variables associated with the social environment of the work and characteristics of the job, including wage levels, mental or manual labour, immediate or deferred rewards, security and frequency of job changing.

Aims are to measure the relative strength of these

influences and the general influence of perceptions of the world of work in structuring career attitudes.

(h) Sex and sexist attitudes will cause discrimination between job status aspiration levels and between career attitudes.

(i) Ethnic origin and racist attitudes will cause discrimination between job status aspiration levels and between career attitudes.

(j) An aim of the study is to provide guidelines for future planning by government, educational and other institutions.

(k) A further aim is to give insights relevant to the development of a general theory of occupational choice or allocation.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RESEARCH DESIGN

#### (1) PRELIMINARY PLANNING OF THE DESIGN

Given the purposes of the investigation, the designing of the research techniques was a construction process over a period of over two and a half years. The exposition of this process necessitates some descriptive accounts in order to show how this process modified the techniques used.

Personal experience of the investigator, whose responsibilities whilst working in a College of Education included all schools' liaison and the running of a course in careers counselling, was valuable in that it involved regular contact with schools. This contact was utilised to develop dialogues with teachers and pupils, with this research specifically in mind, over a period of two years.

The initial design was to construct a questionnaire which would include items asking for the nomination of friends who the respondent 'went around with', both inside and outside school. The intention was to follow up the questionnaire with some form of ethnography with groups of 'friends' who had been identified by the questionnaire as holding similar career attitudes, in order to seek out the processes through which these attitudes were acquired. Unfortunately, access to the school was not possible for the time required for an ethnographic approach, particularly when, as will become apparent, the questionnaire itself and the follow-up dialogues with individuals and groups of pupils

which followed the questionnaire took a considerable time. This is a general problem with ethnographic studies, especially in a large school, since long periods of contact with groups of friends can break up a class, or a number of classes.

Nevertheless, the questionnaire items on friendship groups were retained, though not utilised in this research project. The purpose is to carry out some form of friendship group analysis at a later date as a follow-up to this investigation, either within the school or the Community Centre attached to it.

The first practical steps in planning the questionnaire were between November 1977 and April 1978; the presentation of five 'mini' questionnaires to samples of from 25 to 62 pupils, in five different urban schools in order to test questionnaire items to be used in a pilot questionnaire. These mini studies were followed by structured and informal discussions with groups of pupils and dialogues with individuals.

(2) THE PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE

The aims of the pilot questionnaire were :-

- (a) To create measures of the variables identified as relating to the purposes of the research project and to use the experience of the five mini questionnaires to test out again the measurement techniques used in them.
- (b) To modify the pilot questionnaire for presentation to the final sample, according to the capacities of the testees to respond to the items as evidenced by statistical analysis and dialogues with testees.
- (c) To enable the administrator to gain experience of the questionnaire presentation and of how to develop and utilise dialogues with pupils.
- (d) To test out statistical techniques for analysis of results.
- (e) Specifically relating to (d), to test questionnaire items for scalability and, where a cluster of items measure one variable, to test for internal consistency.

The pilot questionnaire was administered to pupils in an urban comprehensive school of 1,720 pupils. The school fulfilled all the requirements for this pilot study, except that only 19% of the school's population and 21% of the sample, came from ethnic minority groups. The sample was chosen from the middle and lower streams and administered to groups varying in size from 17 to 56. The sample and size of groups was dependent on the convenience of the school, with the objective of minimum time-table disturbance. Pupils were included from each of the first five school years and included the least academically able pupils, apart from those designated by the school as E.S.N. Testing out the questionnaire with these pupils and pupils of low levels of literacy, and also testing out the extent to which the questionnaire had to be worked through, as opposed to simply presented to testees, resulted in a reduction of the sample to 201.

All the administration of the pilot questionnaire was

carried out by the investigator personally; no teachers were involved or were present during the administration of the questionnaire.

The experience of this presentation, coupled with previous experience of the use of questionnaires in career orientated studies and also the general scepticism of the value of questionnaire methodologies in the social sciences, often voiced by many experts in the field, led firstly to the recognition of the need to stimulate motivation to complete the questionnaire as opposed to simply handing it out. In the expository methods used to introduce the questionnaire, care was taken to avoid any mention of anything related to questionnaire items; to some extent, all youngsters have an interest in work and career and the need to think about their ideas was emphasised.

Secondly, the experiences described confirmed the need to complement the questionnaire with dialogues with individuals and groups of respondents. The pilot questionnaire showed that questionnaire responses were an effective base for the beginning of such dialogues, which were used to amend or add to questionnaire responses, particularly relating to the classification of the social class status of job named in the questionnaire.

Thirdly, apropos questionnaire presentation, the pilot questionnaire confirmed the need to work through the questionnaire with the testees. Leaving them to complete this complicated form on their own led to talking generally, to discussion of questionnaire items in particular and to a waning of interest as



time elapsed, especially with low stream pupils. A controlled situation was, therefore, established, with talking amongst testees about questionnaire items discouraged. However, queries to the administrator were encouraged and dialogues developed with the class and with individuals in it. Testees were discouraged from going ahead of the group in the progress through the questionnaire. Obviously the extent to which the questionnaire was worked through depended on the age and ability of the pupils.

It is suggested that the encouraging overall response, both to the pilot and final questionnaires, owed much to the working through process.

Only six questionnaire items produced a total response of less than 88% (201 sample), a high response rate considering that, with some groups, there was experimentation on the extent to which the questionnaire should be worked through. The percentage total response showed little variation by age of testee, though younger pupils took a longer time to complete, but the percentage response was insignificantly lower for pupils in the lower streams in each year.

The statistical analysis of the pilot questionnaire was not as comprehensive as that of the finalised questionnaire and, in the interests of brevity, is not reproduced in detail. It was established, *inter alia*, that each item discriminated significantly within the sample; the frequency range of responses for all items retained in the final questionnaire justified

this retention. Where a cluster of items were a measure of one variable, a test for internal consistency was carried out. All statistical analysis justified inclusion of the items retained and further testing of the main hypotheses assumed within the purposes of the study.

However, a number of questionnaire items were modified or rejected on the bases of the statistical analysis of the results of the pilot questionnaire and of dialogues developed with pupils after the questionnaire had been administered.

The modifications which arose from the statistical analysis were mainly concerned with items that produced a low percentage of responses, some of which were due to respondents not being able to comprehend the terminology used. For example, the word 'security' was not understood and, at the suggestion of a group of testees with whom the issue was discussed, the word security (in a job) was changed, in two questionnaire items, to 'Safe and Steady Job'.

One questionnaire item, which produced a response of only 56%, was deleted from the final questionnaire. This was concerned with Individualism/Collective Identity, that is the strength of personal ambition and its conflict with the collective identity of groups of workers as found in the shop-floor cultures of P. Willis. The suspicion that the low response was due to the terminology used in the item was not borne out in discussions with respondents, they simply did not see any conflict between ambition in the form of seeking promotion and identification with

'the bosses' and getting on with and supporting the interests of fellow workers.

A number of pilot questionnaire items were modified following dialogues with testees, in spite of the fact that the statistical analysis justified their retention. Unfortunately, the time available for access to testees was limited after the presentation of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, a number of class lessons were taken over to enable follow-up discussions; also about 25 individuals discussed their responses for periods of from five minutes to about 30 minutes. Moreover, during the administration of the questionnaire, discussions took place with individuals and where groups finished before the double lesson periods were over, time was available to gain insights into the reactions of pupils to the questionnaire.

Of the nine questionnaire items modified following dialogues with pupils, four were concerned with terminology; for example, the word vandalism, while generally understood, was pointed out to mean a number of activities, such as writing on walls, tearing other pupils' clothes and breaking desks. The wording of the finalised question came from a group of third year pupils; vandalism became 'breaking windows and smashing things up'. Similarly, 'petty crime' became 'stealing from shops'.

Two of the items modified were concerned with ambiguous interpretation by pupils, raising doubts as to the validity of the questions and three were concerned with the order of the questions. One of the latter demands comment. A group of

fourth year pupils complained that some of the blocks of rating scale questions were too large, because, if a series of ticks, as responses, were required, the tendency might be to tick 'without thinking about it' after the first few ticks had been placed. Indeed, one pupil admitted to placing his ticks in a diagonal line across the block because it formed a 'nice pattern'. This pupil pointed out that he had thought about and 'answered sensibly' the first two blocks of rating scale responses because the administrator had worked through each item and 'you had to think about the question if you could not go on to the next one until it was explained'. Group discussions supported this view: thus these discussions, whilst pin-pointing a classic weakness of research techniques by questionnaire, showed the importance of administration technique.

Generally, the post-questionnaire dialogues with pupils stimulated lively discussion and showed a strong interest in careers and the world of work. Given initial motivation to attempt the questionnaire, and practice by the administrator developed a technique for doing this, interest appeared to be maintained. This was evidenced by the lengthy, even too lengthy amount of writing produced by many of the respondents where particular items gave them opportunity.

The total evidence from the pilot questionnaire encouraged the hope that, with modifications as described, the variables defined could be adequately measured. The outstanding problem which became apparent, however, was the measurement of job

aspirations and expectations, that is the classification of occupation by social status.

(3) MEASUREMENT OF JOB STATUS. ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Measurement of job status aspirations and expectations is crucial to the investigation and doubts as to the validity of existing classifications of jobs by social status were confirmed by the Pilot Questionnaire and the dialogues with pupils, which also threw up a number of unanticipated problems in this area. Here, in order to put the whole problem and to avoid repetition, the experience and difficulties highlighted by the final as well as the pilot questionnaire are analysed.

For the pilot questionnaire, all jobs named by respondents, namely fathers' and mothers' job and jobs aspired to and expected, were classified according to the Hall-Jones scale (1950. 055), but in the finalised questionnaire this scale was rejected for the scale of social status of occupations, produced by the Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys (O.P.C.S. 1970. 096). The grounds for the change were that the Hall-Jones scale is dated, it is only for men, it is a seven point scale and it became apparent that, for working class youngsters in the context of this study, preoccupation is with the three lower categories, which are the same in the O.P.C.S; also the O.P.C.S. scale is more widely used, enabling comparisons with other studies.

The O.P.C.S. Social and Socio-Economic classification used information collected for the 1971 Census and the classifications are as follows:-

- I Professional Occupations, etc.  
Including some engineers and technologists.
- II Intermediate Occupations  
Including some self-employed, managers,  
government and local authority senior officials,  
nurses, etc.
- III Skilled Occupations  
Manual and Non-Manual. Requiring considerable  
and specific skills.
- IV Partly Skilled Occupations.  
Requiring slight but specific skills.
- V Unskilled Occupations.  
Manual - all other employees in manual occupations.

The report states that the basic criterion for classification is 'general standing within the community of the occupation concerned', a criterion 'naturally' correlated to other factors such as education and economic environment, but having no direct relationship with levels of remuneration. The intention was that each socio-economic group should contain people whose social, cultural and recreational standards and behaviour are similar. This scale appears to be more appropriate to the purpose of this study than any other; even so, for a number of reasons, it presents problems.

Obviously no scale of job status classification usable for this study will identify with the perceptions of status held by the youngsters in the sample; all available scales reflect, or should reflect, the values held by society in general. In the main, however, on the evidence of questionnaire responses and dialogues with pupils, most of them accept most of the O.P.C.S. criteria of job status levels. Where they do not it could be

either through holding non-conformist values or through ignorance. However, in two work areas the opinions of the pupils appear to be more realistic than the O.P.C.S. classifications, either because that scale is out of date, or, most likely, because it is unsound. These two areas of work are shop assistants and office work, areas which are of particular importance to this study, since 60 (7%) of the sample of the final questionnaire aspired to shop work (49 of them girls) and 104 (12%) to clerical and office work (91 girls). A group of 14 girls, who wanted shop assistants work, was assembled and the discussion that followed, plus dialogues with other individuals, showed a clear distinction between the status of jobs in a gown shop, boutique, large national chain stores or chemists etc, and jobs in the local corner shop or hypermarket.

There is a large hypermarket near the school's catchment area which was visited by the investigator, who discussed employment there with an under-manager. His description confirms that the O.P.C.S. classification of all shop assistants as skilled workers is unrealistic. Some of the girl workers are, at best, semi-skilled and many pupils at school are well aware of this. The following descriptions of this work are taken from work description responses on the questionnaire :-

Filling the shelves up.

Moving the boxes around.

Labelling.

I wouldn't be on the check-out.



The job isn't much - you're humping around.

The Pay's low, you get more in a factory.

I'd be stacking up - I shan't get C.S.E.

They would not let me handle money.

Therefore the O.P.C.S. classification was not rigidly adhered to in this study; shop assistants were classified as skilled or semi-skilled according to the job descriptions as written or stated in discussions with individuals. Similarly with office work, where the girls saw another clear distinction between the skilled office worker, the secretary, shorthand-typist and doing the accounts and semi-skilled copy typing, filing and even tea making.

Doubts as to the reliability of the O.P.C.S. for other job status classifications also led the investigator to approach four manufacturing companies and one garage in order to clarify problems of classification which arose from the questionnaires. All the manufacturers were mentioned frequently by name in the questionnaires, either as the place of work of a parent or as a place of work aspired to or expected. The name of one company was mentioned on 38 occasions. This is a nationally known metal processing company. Another of the companies is internationally known in the manufacture of machine parts, a third was a large foundry and the fourth a large modern bakery. The garage visited was a prosperous car repair business, run and manned by Indians. All the places of work visited were in or near the catchment area of the school. The overall conclusion from these visits was that there is no ambiguity at the places of work as to what is skilled, semi-

skilled and unskilled work. Production managers, personnel managers and foremen were spoken to and there was no disagreement, leading to the following modifications to O.P.C.S. classifications for jobs mentioned by pupils :-

Baker. In the large bakery most workers called themselves bakers, but they were semi-skilled according to the bakery and in their own view, mainly dealing in the movement of bread and other materials.

Furnacemen. Where they are concerned with moving metal from the foundry they are semi-skilled.

Welders and Cutters. Operators of welding and cutting machinery are semi-skilled, not skilled.

Machine operators. Many are mere movers of the end product of the machine, sometimes doing a simple operation to maintain production. Many are women and are unskilled labour.

It would appear that nationally there is an urgent need of a detailed investigation into the classifications of unskilled, semi and skilled labour. Only one study recently has attempted any classification; a report by the D.E.S. in 1974 (033). The report pointed out that many workers doing skilled jobs and many youngsters training for them had no qualifications. Therefore, the traditional criterion of skilled, namely the possession of qualifications such as City and Guilds, O.N.C. etc. obtained after success at C.S.E. or 'O' Level, cannot discriminate between skilled and semi or unskilled workers. This was confirmed by

a foreman at one of the factories visited; he said that, of over forty 'skilled' men in one shop, only three were 'properly qualified'. The D.E.S. report's attempts at definition ended, rather lamely, with the suggestion that unskilled workers are those 'who are not only unqualified, but also would, normally, but not inevitably, seek jobs offering relatively little training.' This definition, if it can be called a definition, offers little help to the attempts of this study to discriminate between high aspiring working class youth, seeking skilled jobs, and low aspiring youth seeking semi skilled and unskilled work. If the D.E.S. criterion is accepted, the consciously low aspiring seeking jobs needing little training would have to be aware of the training required for jobs. Ashton's study (1973. 004) assumes that his youngsters are well informed on the differences of status and training required between skilled and unskilled work and Willis' lads (1977. 124) certainly appeared to be so informed. Yet the pilot questionnaire revealed and the final questionnaire and discussions confirmed, that a large number of youngsters are quite ignorant in this area, particularly in the middle and lower school.

This fact led to the planned procedure for classifying the status of jobs named to be amended in order, for one reason, to seek out at what stage of school life a realistic relationship is established between job and qualifications and training required for it. The problem is augmented when the fact is accepted that some skilled jobs can be obtained without formal

training or qualifications.

The original planned procedure was to ask respondents to name the job, then describe briefly the work that was involved in the job and also to check off from a list the qualifications or training that were thought to be required for the job as a confirmation of the status of the job named. On the pilot questionnaire it became apparent that, in order to classify the job named, the description of the work involved was essential because the job named was far too vague in many cases. For example : in a factory; working with metal; leather worker; doing something with my hands; cooking, etc. Incidentally, it is disappointing that no help, on this and similar problems of classification, is available from previous researches, which do not report on their processes of classification.

However, the questions which asked respondents to name the training and qualifications required for the job named proved useless as confirmation of job status classification, since too many had no idea of realistic relationships. Discussions revealed that a number of 11 to 14 year olds knew astonishingly little about the qualifications that they might take at school. For example, the initials 'C.S.E.' were meaningless to some and three groups, one in each of the first three school years, were disbelieving, even cynically amused, when told they would have to stay at school until 18 in order to take 'A' Level. Many of these had indicated that they would need 'A' Level for the job they aspired to or expected. Nevertheless, as has been stated,

the questions on qualifications and training were retained in order to find out if there is a period in school life during which pupils become knowledgeable on training and/or qualifications.

In fact, on the main questionnaire, it became necessary to make personal contact with many more respondents than had been anticipated, in order to get further information on jobs named vaguely or ambiguously, to enable classification.

Referring finally to the problems of classification by use of the O.P.C.S. scale, many jobs are not mentioned in it, either being found in a general category or under jobs in an industry N.E.C. (Not elsewhere classified). An example of the former is 'Workers in Plastics', all of whom are classified by O.P.C.S. as semi-skilled. There is a plastics manufacturing company in the catchment area of the school used in the main sample which employed a number of mothers, mainly of Asian and West Indian pupils in the school. Their job was, in fact, unskilled, involving the removal of small plastic products from the mould.

In Furnace, Forge, Foundry and Rolling Mill Industries (Category V, O.P.C.S.) and Engineering and Allied Trades (Category VII, O.P.C.S.) some jobs were named in questionnaires and had to be classified other than in the N.E.C. category. Workers on 'the lump', such as 'self-employed bricklayer' have been classified as skilled.

Fantasy job choices proved less of a problem in that, on the pilot questionnaire, only 18 such choices were made according to the criteria defined, which admittedly is subjective. Fantasy,

according to Chambers Dictionary, is desires for unattainable goals and the subjectivity lies in the cut-off point along a continuum of degree of possibility of attainment. The criteria were based on physical, talent and academic bases, related to percentages of pupils that might end up in certain careers. The small fat girl is unlikely to become a model and no ex-pupils are known to have become models and the school has no former pupil who is a professional footballer. Perhaps the continuum of possibility was stretched further on the academic basis: former pupils are doctors and lawyers and professional jobs were not normally classed as fantasy. There were exceptions; for example, 'brain surgin working on T.V.'

Of the 18 fantasy choices on the pilot questionnaire, 12 were interviewed and asked to nominate another job in case they could not get their 'fantasy' choice. All did so and this procedure was used for the 36 (4%) fantasy choices of the main questionnaire.

(4) THE LIST OF VARIABLES

The following list of variables was constructed on the bases of evidence from previous researchers, as analysed in Chapter II; from the five mini questionnaires, from the Pilot Questionnaire and from dialogues with pupils.

Each of the career related variables has opposite it the questionnaire items that measure the variable. The list indicates where a cluster of items together are measures of one variable, and also additional variables derived from one or more questionnaire items.

The questionnaire itself is Appendix I.

LIST OF VARIABLES

Variable	Questionnaire Items
I.D.	Name .....
Sex	Tick Male ..... Female .....
Class in School - School Stream	Class in School .....
School Year	School Year .....
Country Pupil born in	Country you were born in .....
Ethnic origin of father	Country your father was born in .....
Ethnic origin of mother	Country your mother was born in .....
Ethnic origin of pupil	
Pupil White/Non-white	
Father living/not living with pupil	Father (if living with you) put tick ..
Mother living/not living with pupil	Mother (if living with you) put tick ..
2, 1 or 0 parents living with pupil	
Number of brothers living with pupil	Number of brothers living with you ....
Number of sisters living with pupil	Number of sisters living with you .....
Others living with family	Others living with your family .....
Family size (living together)	
Number of siblings	
Father's job	Father's job .....
Father living/dead	Say what you can about your father's work. (If he is no longer living, say so).....
Father employed/ unemployed	If your father does not have a job at present, tick here .....



Variable	Questionnaire Items
Mother's job	Mother's job (If housewife, say so), .....
Mother Working/Housewife	
Mother living/dead	If you mother works, say what you can about her work. (If she is no longer living, say so) .....
Mother employed/ unemployed	If your mother works, but does not have a job at present, tick here. .....
Job Aspirations	Name the job you hope to get when you leave school..... Briefly describe the work you think you would be doing in this job. .....
- Qualifications needed for job aspired to.	Put a tick against the qualifications or training you think you will need to get the job you have named. You may tick more than one.  No special qualifications ..... Learning while on the job ..... A short period of training ..... C.S.E. .... 'O' Level ..... 'A' Level ..... Training or qualifications taken after school - (explain briefly) ..... ..... .....
- Highest qualification	
Job Expectations :-	Name the job you actually think you <u>will</u> get when you leave school. Describe the work you would be doing in the job you have just named ..... .....
Mismatch Job Aspirations/ Expectations	
Unemployment :- - Perceived as threat to job aspirations	Unemployment is bound to make it harder for me to get the job I want.

## Variable

## Questionnaire Items

	<p>What do you think is likely to prevent you getting the job you want .....</p> <p>.....</p>
- Extent of fear of Stable/Unstable Career Pattern	<p>It would worry me if I could not get a job.</p> <p>During my working life I expect to change my job many times.</p>
Immediate/Deferred Material Rewards	<p>For your first job, what type of job would you prefer? Tick one in each of the following two groups.</p> <p>An unskilled job with high wages .....  Low wages while training for a skilled job. ....</p> <p>Not a safe and steady job, but with high wages. ....  A low paid but safe and steady job. ....</p>
Parental Pressure :	
- Career	<p>My parents take a serious interest in my career.</p>
- Education	<p>My parents take a serious interest in how well I do in my school work.</p>
Parents' Aspirations for their children	
- Job Status	<p>Explain the sort of job you think your parents would like you to have .....</p>
- Qualifications aspired to by parents for children.	<p>Put a tick against the qualifications or training your parents would like you to have. You may tick more than one.</p> <p>No special qualifications ....  Learning while on the job ....  A short period of training ....  C.S.E. ....  'O' Level ....  'A' Level ....</p>
- Highest qualification	<p>Training or qualifications taken after school - (explain briefly) .....</p> <p>.....</p>
Educational Achievement (Self Rating)	<p>I think I am good at my school work.</p>
Mental/Manual Labour	<p>What mixture of manual (working with hands) and mental work do you want in your job? Tick <u>one</u> item in the list.</p>

(cont'd.....)

## Variable

## Questionnaire Items

	<p>Nearly all mental work.  More mental than manual work.  Equal amounts of mental and manual work.  More manual than mental work.</p>
Job Characteristics Preferred	In your future work, which of the following would be the most important to you? Put a 1 against the most important; a 2 against the next most important and a 3 against the next. Leave the rest blank.
- Conformist	<p>A safe and steady job.  Good chances of promotion for hard work.  A job that people respect.</p>
- Non Conformist	<p>A job where you can relax a bit and have a laugh.  Friendly people to work with.  High wages.</p>
Pro/Anti School - Values	<p>Most school rules are necessary.  Sometimes other pupils 'playing up' in class prevents me getting on with my work.  Teachers have a right to expect cleanliness and neatness in dress.  Most teachers' attitudes to conduct and behaviour are out of date.</p>
Pro/Anti School - Official Curriculum	<p>Most school work is boring.  I try to do well in my school work.  Most school work I do will be useful to me in my career.</p>
Pro/Anti Work	<p>Most people enjoy their work.  Most people only work for the wage packet at the end of the week.</p>
Socially Conformist/Non Conformist. (Outside School) :	
- Attitude to Crime, Vandalism	<p>I do not blame teenagers who break windows and smash things up.  I do blame teenagers who steal from shops.</p>
- Use of Leisure. Identity with adults.	<p>My parents have a great deal of influence on how I spend my leisure time.  Teachers would not approve of how I spend my leisure time.</p>

Variable

Questionnaire Items

Identity with home and family in leisure time.

Every week, how often do you ..?

Identity with peer groups in leisure time.

Tick in the right column for you.

	Never	1 or 2 Times	2 or 3 Times	3 or 4 Times	5 or 6 Times	More than 6 Times
Go out on your own						
Go out with one or two friends						
Go out with a gang of friends						
Go out with parents						
Go out with other relatives						
Stay home						

Peer Group Influence on Career :

- Perceived influence on career choice
- Perceived identity of career interests
- Perceived importance of similar friends at school and work.

I shall be influenced by my friends in my choice of job.

My friends are interested in the same sort of work as me.

I would like my friends at work to be the same sort of people as my friends at school.

Sexism :

- In Home

In the home, women and men should have an equal say in how to spend the money.

Women and men should share the housework.

- At Work

At work, women should have the same pay and opportunities as men if they do the same work.

Most jobs can be done equally well by women and men.

Variable	Questionnaire Items
Racialism :	People of different races should have equal opportunities of getting jobs. People of different races are equally capable in all types of jobs. On the whole, people of different races get on well together.
- Perceived discrimination in work.	What do you think is likely to prevent you getting the job you want? .....

(5) THE SAMPLE

The school from which the sample came was not the first choice. Access to school for research projects is restricted by the sensitivity of Local Education Authorities to parents' objections to content of questionnaires and topics for interview discussions. The school used had a low proportion of West Indian pupils and a population of Pakistanis too low for detailed analysis.

The school is termed comprehensive, though about 20 pupils from its catchment area enter two selective Grammar Schools every year. A guarantee of confidentiality, requested by the school, included an undertaking not to give details which would enable identification. Thus the following information is deliberately restricted.

The school has a population of about 1,800, of which 42% come from ethnic minorities. The streaming process is termed 'banding', with each band, consisting of 3 to 5 classes, having similar time-tabling and curriculum, the criterion for band placement being academic ability. There are four bands in the lower school and three in the third to fifth years. In each school year there is a special class, often termed E.S.N. by the staff; these classes have curricula particularly geared to the limited academic ability of the pupils. There are also special classes, termed 'immigrant' classes, all of whose members are coloured and have insufficient competence in the English language to enable them to operate in the normal streaming set-up. The ability

range of these pupils varies considerably. Otherwise there are twelve classes per school year up to fourth year, where there are thirteen due to a wider curriculum related to formal examinations.

The school attempts to obscure its streamed organisation by teaching unstreamed groups for certain non-academic activities and by a complicated system of numbering classes. The latter it does better than most schools who try this, with classes taking the number of their room or the name of the room's normal activity (e.g. art) and often with a completely different numbering system for each year. Setting within bands appears to lie at the discretion of the Head of Department; maths and languages are so setted, science and English are not.

The Metropolitan Borough in which the school lies and the school's catchment area are economically heavily dependent on the metal trades, which employ about half of the labour force. About two thirds of the labour force works in manufacturing industry, roughly double the national average.

The catchment area of the school has no 'middle' class owner-occupier housing estates. There is a sharp division between the council house estates, which are comparatively modern and well kept, and the Victorian terraced areas whose decline had begun before many of them were taken over by coloured immigrants, who now constitute the great majority of their population.

The 42% of the school's population which is coloured probably indicates some relationship to the percentage of coloured inhabitants in the catchment area, but there is no official information here due to complicated and ever changing catchment area boundaries.

The sample of the school's pupils used in this investigation broadly reflects the proportions of ethnic groups in the whole school and, as has been stated, reflects the small number of Pakistani/Bangladeshi children and West Indians. The study can offer, therefore, restricted insights into West Indian attitudes and almost none for Pakistanis.

Apart from a determination not to breach confidentiality, many statistical details of the school's population are not given because they are not available. Nevertheless, certain trends are apparent. Short term unemployment of fifth year school leavers has increased about two and a half times since 1974 and this increase, whilst significantly affecting West Indian leavers, does not appear to have had any greater effect on Indians than on the white population. However, whilst almost exactly three quarters of white fifth year leavers, male and female, enter or attempt to enter full time employment, the figure for Indians is markedly less. Only about one half of Indian boys in the fifth year aim to go directly into employment and of the remainder almost half engage in further education; a far larger proportion than for white boys. A greater proportion of Indian boys and girls stay on at school compared with whites, the figures being, for the last two years about 35% compared with 21%. West Indian experience is quite different; they suffer more from unemployment and less than one fifth continue their education after the fifth year.

The questionnaire was administered to 1,031 pupils, in groups ranging in size from 12 to 43, the average group being 26.4. The



intention was to restrict the sample to middle and lower streams, that is to omit pupils in the top band who would be mainly G.C.E. material and potential sixth formers. However, access to the fourth and fifth years was during careers lessons which are unstreamed, so that 110 questionnaires had to be administered to top stream pupils in order to avoid the inconvenience to the school of splitting classes. These 110 were removed from the sample, as were 57 other questionnaires, all of which were from 'immigrant' or low band classes in the lower school or third year. These 57 rejects arose from the attempts to administer the questionnaire to pupils with very low levels of literacy generally or specifically in English.

Access to the lower school was restricted, so that only six classes in the second year and two in the first year were part of the sample. However, in third, fourth and fifth years the sample constituted seven classes in each year, that is all the mid and low stream pupils except the E.S.N. class in each year. Not all the pupils in all the classes were present; there were absentees from school and, on three occasions, teachers withdrew small numbers of pupils for various reasons.

Follow up dialogues with groups or individuals took place either immediately after the administration of the questionnaire or in separate lesson time, or in school breaks and lunch hours. The majority of individual, one to one dialogues, centred round the responses given to the questions on job aspirations and expectations, though were by no means confined to this area.

However, this was the main purposes in seeking out individuals. When a pupil was involved in a one to one discussion, this was noted on the questionnaire and questionnaire responses often amended or added to, particularly in order to enable classification of the status of jobs named. A total of 237 pupils were seen individually.

A total of 23 group discussions were held with three groups being seen on three occasions.

The time taken to administer the questionnaire, working through the questions, varied from 45 to 80 minutes. The younger the pupil, the longer was the time taken. This was the major reason for making access to lower school pupils difficult, because a longer time was required than two lesson periods, thus causing time-table disruption.

The following Diagrams (1-6) give an at-a-glance cross-tabulation of the final sample by school year, ethnic origin, sex and stream ('band'). Percentage breakdowns are only included where they are deemed informative for this purpose.

Diagram (1) School Year by Ethnic Origin.

Diagram (2) Sex by Stream

Diagram (3) School Year by Stream

Diagram (4) Sex by School Year

Diagram (5) Sex by Ethnic Origin

Diagram (6) Ethnic Origin by Stream

DIAGRAM 1

TABLE : SCHOOL YEAR BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

School Year	Ethnic Origin (Number of Testees)					Total
	White	Pakistani	Indian	West Indian	Half-Caste	
1	43	0	11	4	1	59
2	100	5	45	15	3	168
3	120	10	71	13	2	216
4	107	10	62	14	7	200
5	128	5	59	24	5	221
Total	498	30	248	70	18	864
%	57.6	3.5	28.7	8.1	2.1	100.0

Diagram (1) tabulates the numbers in each school year by ethnic origin. The small number of 18 half-caste pupils consisted of 14 with white mothers and 4 with white fathers. This group was only used for the variable 'white/coloured' and they were classified as non-white.

The balance in numbers between sex and stream and also school year and stream was reasonably even, as Diagrams (2) and (3) indicate. The fewer numbers of females is partly explained by their larger numbers in the high stream bands.

DIAGRAM 2

TABLE : SEX BY STREAM

Sex	Stream		Total
	Mid	Low	
Male	219	218	500
Female	183	181	364
Total	402	462	864

Diagram (3) shows a table of School Year by Stream and reflects the situation in the school of greater numbers in low streams compared with middle streams, except in first year, where only two classes are included in the sample and in fifth year, where, in the school, numbers in the middle streams are greater than in low streams.

DIAGRAM 3

TABLE : SCHOOL YEAR BY STREAM

School Year	Stream		Total
	Mid	Low	
1	31	28	59
2	83	85	168
3	105	111	216
4	60	140	200
5	123	98	221
Total	402	462	864

In each school year there are more males in the sample than females, but in each year both sexes are adequately represented (Diagram 4).

DIAGRAM 4TABLE : SEX BY SCHOOL YEAR

Sex		School Year					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Male	No	35	94	119	125	127	500
	%	59.3	56.0	55.1	62.5	57.5	57.9
Female	No	24	74	97	75	94	364
	%	40.7	44.0	44.9	37.5	42.5	42.1

Diagram (5) shows that the sample is also well balanced for Sex by Ethnic Origin, except for the small Pakistani group.

DIAGRAM 5TABLE : SEX BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

Sex		Ethnic Origin					Total
		White	Pakistani	Indian	West Indian	Half Caste	
Male	No	285	26	143	35	11	500
	%	57.0	86.7	57.7	50.0	61.1	57.9
Female	No	213	4	105	35	7	364
	%	43.0	13.3	42.3	50.0	38.9	42.1

There are more white pupils in the middle band than the low band, unlike the other racial groups (Diagram 6).

DIAGRAM 6

TABLE : STREAM BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

Stream		Ethnic Origin					Total
		White	Pakistani	Indian	West Indian	Half Caste	
Mid	No	266	5	94	26	11	402
	%	53.4	16.7	37.9	37.1	61.1	46.5
Low	No	232	25	154	44	7	462
	%	46.6	83.3	62.1	62.9	38.9	53.5

(6) STATISTICAL METHODS EMPLOYED

(i) Introduction

This section describes and, when necessary, justifies the statistical methods employed. Given the large number of variables involved in the study, a total of 101 plus 25 derived variables, it was necessary to reduce the number used in the analysis, given the time available for this study. Firstly, the number of variables was limited by the built in design of creating 'derived' variables from clusters of questionnaire items which were each a measure of an attitude or input variable; also by identifying, at an early stage, by Pearson correlations and cross-tabulation those variables which had little significance in relation to the purposes of the study. These initial plans were less satisfactory than had been hoped, mainly because the breakdown of the sample into sub-groups by sex, school, year, race and stream, established that, in a number of cases, the internal consistency of a cluster of variables was significant to establish their reliability as measures of a derived variable for some sub-groups of the sample, but not for other sub-groups.

The second method proposed for limiting the scope of the statistical analysis was to concentrate on those sub-groups of the sample whose career attitudes could be most effectively explained by the variables measured. This method, in general, proved practical.

All computer work for the final sample utilised the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (MK.6) at the University of Aston



Computer Centre, linked to the University of Manchester.

The following descriptions of measurement techniques employed concentrate on the main statistical programmes used and avoid detail of some minor statistical tools employed.

(ii) Problems of Variable Measurement

Three variables created particular problems of measurement:-

(a) Ethnic Origin of Respondents

Country of Birth of Pupil was not used because most of the coloured pupils had been born in this country. The ethnic origin of pupils was also complicated by children of mixed racial origin and white children not of U.K. origin. Numbers were small; there were 18 of the former and 10 of the latter. The 18 children of mixed ethnic origin were discounted for the variable 'Ethnic Origin', but were classified as Non-White for the White/Non-White variable. Identification of these groups was from responses to the questions which asked for Fathers' and Mothers' Country of Birth.

The 10 white children not of U.K. origin all had one or two parents of European or North American origin and were classified as 'White'.

(b) Racialism

Sensitivity of Local Education Authorities and schools to racial issues caused problems of access to schools and was instrumental in one L.E.A. preventing access. Questions had to be worded tactfully; for example, a question could state that people of different races get on

well together, but not that they do not get on well.

Last minute modification was required and two of the three racially orientated questions had limited value in identifying sensitivity to racialism amongst ethnic minorities. These were :-

People of different races are equally capable in all types of jobs (Item 28, question 5).

People of different races should have equal opportunities of getting jobs (Item 29, question 3).

These two questions, plus a third (On the whole, people of different races get on well together, Item 28, question 6), proved internally consistent for white respondents as a measure of extent of racist feelings. This tends to indicate that those who do not believe that people of different races get on well together do so because they hold racist attitudes, not because they are anti-racist but recognise racial tensions. Discussion with pupils strongly supported this interpretation and the item was taken to be a measure of racist feelings for all the sample and the only measure for ethnic minorities.

Where a variable termed 'Racialism' is mentioned in the reporting, it applies to white respondents and is a measure of the group variable for the three items. All Pearson correlations calculated included the group variable relating to the ability of people of different races to get on together.

(c) Mismatch

This variable was intended to measure the relationship

between job aspirations and expectations, but its correlation with levels of job aspirations needed teasing out. Dialogues with pupils appeared to indicate that perceptions of whether or not they would be able to get the job they wanted was an important factor in their career attitudes and that pupils aspiring to higher status jobs seemed more optimistic of their chances, not the reverse as might be expected. This optimism did not seem to be related to other variables such as stream academic ability, potential to gain qualifications and threat of unemployment. It appeared to be a personality variable, a confidence, or lack of it, in their career prospects. At the extreme, a few pupils in the lower school were obviously grossly over ambitious, given their academic status, in that they aspired to and expected to get jobs in Classes I and 2, but were not seriously threatened by prospects of failure. The important concept, however, was that the working class youngsters who wanted skilled jobs or similar seemed more confident of getting the work they wanted compared with those aspiring to unskilled and semi-skilled work.

A variable was, therefore, constructed and tested out, termed for want of a better name 'Mismatch', with the hypothesis that it was a personality variable, discriminating between Confidence/Non-Confidence in ability to get the job desired. The variable name derives from the means of

measuring it. Respondents whose job expectation was the same, or in the same O.P.C.S. Class as the job aspired to were coded Non/Mismatch, as were 29 respondents, from the whole sample of 864, who expected to get a job in a higher O.P.C.S. Class than the job they wanted. There were many respondents who named exactly the same job as the job they aspired to, but also many who did not name a job at all. Of the latter, many, either in response to job expected or work expected to be done in the job (Questionnaire Item 18), indicated that the work they expected was perceived to be less attractive, indicating that they did not expect to get the job they wanted, or a similar job. Such phrases as 'I think I will end up in a factory job' or 'I don't think I shall get a good job' were frequent. Such responses were coded 'Mismatch'.

The overall responses to the Job Expected question seem quite different from the responses reported in previous research studies, in which most respondents seemed simply to name a second job. The problem was those respondents who aspired to a Class 5 job, because their job expectation could not be of lower status. Fortunately and remarkably, only 31 respondents aspired to Class 5 unskilled jobs and 11 of them were coded under missing values because they did not respond to the Job Expected question. Of the remaining 20, all but one discussed their responses with the investigator and some were seen more than once. They were

not only generally pessimistic of their job chances, but did not have much confidence in getting the particular job they wanted. They did aspire to particular jobs and there was no indication whatsoever that, like Willis' lads, they regarded all unskilled jobs as similar. Accordingly they were coded as 'Mismatch'

The efforts involved in measuring this variable proved justified in that it turned out to be an important influence on career attitudes. The danger that it might be an overlap measure with other variables that could relate to confidence in getting the job wanted, such as academic ability and fear of unemployment, was disproved by the fact that 'Mismatch' did not correlate with such variables; also by its place in the hierarchy of 'best' variables chosen by stepwise regression analyses, compared with the placement of such potential overlap variables.

However, a limiting factor is that there is no means of knowing the extent to which low expectations had already lowered aspirations before the questionnaire was given.

(iii) Descriptive Statistics and One way Frequency Distributions

The basic distribution characteristics were found for all variables used in the analysis and, when appropriate, details of these characteristics emerge in the analysis of results. All variables produced adequate discrimination within the sample as a whole.

(iv) Treatment of Missing Values

Missing responses to questionnaire items were a minor problem

for the statistical analysis. As with the Pilot Questionnaire, the overall level of responses was high because the questionnaires were worked through with the pupils and dialogues with the respondents often resulted in additions to their questionnaires.

For the additional questions which demanded a response, only fourteen had more than ten missing scores and only four of the fourteen had more than thirty missing scores. One of these was Parents' Aspirations for their child's job (Questionnaire Item Number 21. 197 missing scores) due to the fact that many respondents could not name a particular job that their parents wanted for them. Another two of the low response items were those measuring Immediate/Deferred Rewards (Questionnaire Item Number 25; 72 and 205 missing responses respectively). Here the administrator of the questionnaire was at fault. At the beginning of the questionnaire presentation, with fourth and fifth year pupils, an inadequate attempt was made to explain these questions, which turned out to be the most difficult items to comprehend. Of the 277 no responses to these two items, 161 (58%) were from fourth and fifth year pupils. The fourth low response item was Mental/Manual Labour (Questionnaire Item Number 24; 47 missing scores).

For missing values generally, all five point rating scales measuring attitudes were scored 3. Pair-wise deletion was adopted for other variables for all Pearson Correlations and for Regressions. The justification of the latter was the overall high number of responses, particularly for factual input variables relating to home and school, such as those relating to structure of the family

and status in school. For these input variables the responses recorded were virtually 100%; the only two exceptions being Father's Job and Mother's Job (Questionnaire Items 8 and 11; 104 and 22 missing scores) due mainly to the respondent not knowing the answer because they did not live with one or both parents.

(v) Cross tabulation

Cross tabulation procedures were used to analyse the variables related to racial origin, the only non-dichotomous variables which could not be rank ordered. In order to test the internal consistency of a cluster of item responses utilised to create a derived variable, an Alpha Correlation test [where  $k$  = number of items;

$$\alpha = \frac{k}{k-1} \left( 1 - \frac{k}{k+2x} \xi \text{ Item Correlations} \right) ]$$

established that, for the whole sample, all clusters were significant at the 5% level except in three cases. One was the measure of sexist attitudes, where a group of four questionnaire items (contained in questions 23 and 26 on the Questionnaire) was intended to constitute a measure of sexist attitudes. Two of the items related to sexist attitudes in the home and two to sexist attitudes at work. Each pair proved a reliable measure of these attitudes, but the two pairs together were not a reliable measure of sexist attitudes generally. The reason was undoubtedly that males were prepared, on the whole, to accept equal pay for equal work and the capability of women to do most jobs as well as men; they were not prepared to accept equality of decision making at home or that men should share the housework. Consequently, for the statistical analysis, two variables

related to sexism were used, Sexist at Home and Sexist at Work.

The second problem cluster presented an exactly similar problem; clusters of questionnaire items could be established statistically to measure Pro/Anti School Value and Pro/Anti School Curriculum, but together they did not constitute a general Pro/Anti School variable.

The third cluster was concerned with identity of career attitudes with peers. Three questionnaire items were left as separate variables. These were the influence of friends in job choice (Questionnaire Item 26, second question), the extent of friends' interest in the same sort of work as the respondent and extent to which respondent would like friends at school and work to be the same sort of people (Item 26, questions 1 and 2).

However, the problem of reducing the number of variables used in the analysis by clustered questionnaire items was not solved, since even when each item of a group was established at the 5% significance level to be a reliable measure of the group variable, Pearson correlations showed that individual items had particular significance for sub-groups of the total sample.

Therefore, many of the correlation programmes run included all the questionnaire items contained in many of the clusters. As the Pearson Correlation programmes produced their evidence for particular sub-groups of the sample, so the list of variables included in the correlation programmes was modified.

(vi) Pearson Correlations

A Series of correlation coefficients (Pearson) were computed, each using, as appropriate, all the variables in the modified



variable list. This was a progressive, developmental exercise in that the sample was broken down into sub-groups; further breakdowns were dependent on the evidence gained. The following list shows the breakdowns of the whole sample :

Sex.	Male/Female
Stream	Mid/low stream
Ethnic origin	White, Indian, West Indian White/Non-White
School year	Lower School (1st. 2nd. 3rd year) Upper School (4th. 5th year) 4th year only.
Ethnic origin by school year	Upper and Lower School
Sex by school year	Upper and Lower School 4th year.
School year by stream	Upper and Lower School
Sex by stream	
Sex by Ethnic origin	White and Indian
Ethnic origin by stream	White and Indian
Sex by stream by ethnic origin	White and Indian
Sex by stream by school year	Upper and Lower School

In the analysis of results, no Pearson Correlation is reported that is not significant at the 5% level or that is below 0.30. This figure is based on reported research in this and similar fields of study for samples of like size and heterogeneity.

(vii) Stepwise Regression Analysis

Stepwise, forward inclusion regression analysis was preferred to causal path techniques, which was originally considered, due to the large number of potential predictor variables. It was, therefore, necessary to use some technique which would select sub-sets of these variables. Moreover, having studied the initial phase of Pearson Correlations, it was suggested that only a limited number of predictor variables had a simple direct influence on the dependent variables, particularly job aspirations, for most sub-groups of the sample. A further reason was the requirement of path analysis techniques that the directions of causal relationships amongst the predictors must be specified. In fact, there was difficulty in constructing sequential, chronological models for the variables under consideration, since these variable often interact with one another with no clear cause-effect relationship.

Stepwise regression techniques have been criticised on the grounds that selection of independent variables, chosen in order of the extent to which they explain the greatest amount of variance in the dependent variable, could vary if the correlation between two independent variables and the dependent variable are identical or closely similar. Thus, since the independent variable chosen at each step is the one which explains the greatest amount of variance in the dependent variable unexplained by the variables already entered in the equation, the whole pattern of influence on the dependent variable would be different. However, it is suggested that, for this particular study, this is not a pertinent criticism because, for all

breakdowns of the sample the number of variables affecting chosen dependent variables, especially job aspirations, is limited and the few independent variables which have closely similar correlations with dependent variables have only minimum influence in explaining changes in the dependent variables.

For all reported regression programmes, for each step, no significance level above 5% is included, except on two occasions where levels of 0.051 and 0.052 are accepted because independent variables chosen afterwards are significant at the 5% level.

Stepwise regression programmes were computed, using the same sub-groups of the sample as for the Pearson Correlations, except for fewer programmes breaking down the sample by school stream. The reason for this was that school stream was found to have very limited influence as a predictor of career attitudes. Also three additional breakdowns were run; White/Non-White for the whole sample and for males and females.

## CHAPTER V

### ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

#### (1) PROCEDURE

Sections (2) and (3) of this Chapter are concerned with job aspirations. Section (2) deals with the determinants of job aspirations, the separate parts of the section analysing the total sample and various breakdowns of the sample by sex, ethnic origin, school year and stream. The selection of the breakdowns for analysis is dependent on the significance of the statistical evidence which emerges; analyses of sub-samples which contribute little or nothing to the solving of the problems defined in the purposes of the study are not presented.

Section (3) is concerned with the characteristics of the jobs or work to which the respondents aspire. The first and second parts analyse the actual jobs named as jobs aspired to, as opposed to the O.P.C.S. classification of job status levels used in the rest of the analysis of results, with part (ii) studying fantasy choices. Part (iii) deals with insights into the conditions of work and the nature of work which arise from responses to the job aspiration questions.

Section (4), Analysis of Career Related Attitudes, is a study of the interrelationships between career attitudes and the sources from which these attitudes arise; namely the home and its environment, the school, peer groups, the labour market, racialism and sexism. Where there is overlap with evidence already presented on the determinants of job aspirations, repetition is brief and confined to necessities of the context of the analysis.

Reference is always made back to the appropriate parts of Sections (2) or (3). Brief summaries are given at the end of each part and each section.

The large number of stepwise regression and product moment correlation programmes run demanded some selection in reporting and the statistical criteria for selection has already been defined in Chapter IV. 6.(i). Not all stepwise regression programmes reported are represented in table form.

(2) DETERMINANTS OF JOB STATUS ASPIRATIONS

(i) The Total Sample

As far as measured influences on job aspirations were concerned, the whole sample was not a homogeneous group, and only two variables correlated above the 0.30 level with job aspiration level, namely parent aspirations for their children in terms of job status (Correlation 0.49) and Mismatch (0.34). This restricted outcome was, however, entirely consistent with the evidence of the dialogues with pupils. The main and overwhelming theme was reference to what 'dad says' and what 'mom says' about the status of jobs and about what jobs their offsprings would be encouraged or pressurised to aim for. Not only individuals, but groups of pupils in all school years, given freedom to debate amongst themselves, continually reverted to views on parents' opinions.

Diagram (7) shows the simple frequency relationship between Job Aspirations and Parents' Job Aspirations for their children.

The 197 missing scores for Parents' Aspirations were mainly due to the fact that respondents felt unable to name a particular job, though some in the lower school said they had not discussed jobs with their parents.

The general trend was for parents' aspirations for their children to be higher than the aspirations of the children, the close relationship between the two variables being less apparent when the actual jobs named were studied. Of the 108 respondents

DIAGRAM 7

TABLE : JOB ASPIRATIONS BY PARENT ASPIRATIONS (Simple Frequencies)

O.P.C.S. Class	Job Aspirations		Parents' Aspirations	
	Number	%(Adjusted)	Number	%(Adjusted)
1	32	3.7	52	7.8
2	108	12.5	116	17.4
3	505	58.7	385	57.7
4	185	21.5	95	14.2
5	31	3.6	18	2.7
Missing	3	-	198	-
	864	100	864	100

aspiring to Class 2, 44 wanted to be nurses (41%) and 24 teachers (22%); the comparative figures for 116 parents' aspirations in Class 2 were 22 (19%) and 18 (16%). These professions, the recognised ladders of advancement for the working class, were balanced in parent aspirations by a range of professions which some might regard to be of higher status.

For boys, the only significant difference was the number of Indian parents (22:19%) who wanted their sons to be shop keepers; only 4 Indian boys aspired to such a job and in discussions some of them felt strongly that they did not want to keep a shop.

Appendix II gives the complete list of jobs named for Job Aspirations.

Diagram (8) gives a more detailed cross tabulation between Job Aspirations of Parents for their children and child's Job Aspirations.

Turning to the rather low correlation between job status aspiration and Mismatch, this does show that there was a tendency for lower aspirants (semi and unskilled) to have lower expectations of getting the jobs they wanted, confirming to some extent, the hypothesis made, following dialogues with pupils, that lower aspirants were more pessimistic of their job chances.

Diagram (9) shows the number and percentage of jobs aspired to for each O.P.C.S. Class, related to expectancy of achieving the jobs.

It must be noted that 32 testees did not respond to the Job



DIAGRAM 8

TABLE : JOB ASPIRATIONS BY PARENT ASPIRATIONS (Detailed Frequency)

Number Row % Column % Total %		Parents' Aspirations O.P.C.S. Class					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Job Aspirations O.P.C.S. Class	1	15	1	8	0	0	24
		62.5	4.2	33.3	0.0	0.0	3.6
		28.8	.9	2.1	0.0	0.0	
		2.3	.2	1.2	0.0	0.0	
	2	10	57	20	3	0	90
		11.1	63.3	22.2	3.3	0.0	13.5
		19.2	49.1	5.2	3.2	0.0	
		1.5	8.6	3.0	.5	0.0	
	3	24	40	293	27	8	392
		6.1	10.2	74.7	6.9	2.0	58.9
		46.2	34.5	76.1	28.4	44.4	
		3.6	6.0	44.0	4.1	1.2	
	4	3	16	57	61	4	141
		2.1	11.3	40.4	43.3	2.8	21.2
		5.8	13.8	14.8	64.2	22.2	
		.5	2.4	8.6	9.2	.6	
	5	0	2	7	4	6	19
		0.0	10.5	36.8	21.1	31.6	2.9
		0.0	1.7	1.8	4.2	33.3	
		0.0	.3	1.1	.6	.9	
TOTAL		52 7.8	116 17.4	385 57.8	95 14.3	18 2.7	666 100.0

Raw Chi Square = 450,97403 with 16 degrees of freedom,  
Significance = 0,000.

DIAGRAM 9TABLE : JOB ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

O.P.C.S. Class	Job Aspirations		Job Expectations Lower than Aspiration	
	Number	%	Number	% of all Aspirants
1	30	3.6	15	50.0
2	105	12.6	38	36.1
3	494	59.3	184	37.2
4	183	22.0	110	60.4
5	20	2.4	20	100.0
Total	832	100	377	45.3

Expected question and are, therefore, not included in the left hand columns. Also the inclusion of 20 unskilled job aspirants as having expectations lower than aspirations has already been explained (Problems of Variable Measurement, Chapter IV.6.ii).

Diagram (9) shows that 47.3% of the whole sample of 864 expected to get the job they wanted, or a similar status job. The responses to the Job Expected question appeared to be generally different from the responses in previous British studies reported in that numerous respondents did not name an actual job. The phrase 'I think I shall get my job', or statements meaning the same, occurred frequently. Also some replies were vague, but still could be coded for the Mismatch variable; for example, 'I might have to go in a factory'.

Perhaps the most important aspects of Diagram (9) are that, of 494 aspirants to skilled jobs, 37.2% did not expect to get the job they wanted, compared with 60.4% of the 183 aspirants to semi-skilled jobs. 64.0% of semi and unskilled job aspirants did not expect to get the jobs they wanted, compared with 37.6% of aspirants to jobs in Classes 1, 2 and 3.

For the whole sample, the statistical evidence offered little to explain why nearly half the sample did not expect to get the jobs they wanted, though Questionnaire Item (19) asking what is thought likely to prevent you getting the job you want, might appear to provide the answer. Qualifications were named by 305 (35%) of the sample and unemployment by 274 (32%). No other responses attracted more than 40 respondents, the 40 being those who mentioned racial discrimination. Considering that the responses

were to an open ended question, where the respondents had to write something down, not just tick, it would appear that qualifications and fears of unemployment were the answers. However, as will emerge as the statistical evidence is developed, this does not appear to be the case. Certainly there are no correlations between qualifications and unemployment mentioned and expectancy/non-expectancy of getting job wanted, nor do qualifications and unemployment play any major role in changes in job aspirations in stepwise regression programmes.

The Mismatch variable is interesting in that it would appear logical for aspirants to low status jobs to be more likely to expect to get the jobs they want and for aspirations to be cooled off by realistic assessment of academic achievement possibilities. This may well be the case for top stream pupils and it is important to note that all previous British studies in the field, except that of Ashton (1973. 004), have compared high streams with low streams, or, it might be said, 'middle class' and 'lower class' pupils. In this context two separate facts are vital considerations.

Firstly, most of this sample do not take public examinations and the argument is developed in Chapter V (ii) that the threat of not getting qualifications was part of a general parental pressure to 'do well' and not seen as directly related to requiring jobs of a particular status. As will be seen, the number of respondents who saw qualifications as an obstacle to getting their job did not increase as the pupils got older.

Secondly, job status aspiration levels did not fall as the pupils got older (This Chapter, Part v.).

In summary, the statistical relationships for the sample as a whole, which gave insights into the determinants of job aspirations, were limited because, as the evidence will show when sub-samples were analysed, the sample was heterogeneous as far as job aspirations and career attitudes were concerned. This fact emphasised even more strongly the dominant influence on job aspirations of parents' aspirations for their children.

The only other variable that operated, for the sample as a whole, to cause changes in job aspirations was the distinction between those who expected to get the job they wanted and those who did not. Up to and including O.P.C.S. Class 2, the tendency was for higher aspirants to be more likely to expect to get the job wanted. The hypothesis was retained that this was a psychologically orientated variable; a measure of confidence or of the need to achieve. At this point the evidence for this arose from the dialogues with pupils; more objective evidence arises as the analysis of results develops.

(ii) Sample Breakdown by Sex

Diagram (10) shows a Table of Job Aspirations by Sex and indicates that girls in greater number aspired to Class 2 and Class 4 jobs; the respective explanations being the number of nurses for Class 2, which exactly accounts for the difference between males and females, and the number of girls wanting shop and office jobs of a semi-skilled nature. As might be expected, skilled jobs dominated for boys (71.3%); these were mainly jobs in industry. Given these facts, it can be said that sex was not as significant a discriminator between levels of jobs aspirations as Diagram (10) suggests.

As was found for the whole sample, the two main variables predicting job aspiration levels, identified by Pearson correlations, were the same for both boys and girls. However, the correlations for girls were higher than for boys; respectively 0.58 and 0.43 for Parents' Aspirations for their children and 0.45 and 0.33 for Mismatch.

These figures and stepwise regression programmes for females and males (Diagram 11), suggest that it is easier to predict the job aspirations of girls.

Since the form of presentation of Diagram (11) is a precedent for a number of following diagrams, a detailed explanation of what is represented is useful. The height of each column shows the percentage variation in the dependent variable that can be explained by the list of significant variables in the equation. Thus, 49% of variation for females and 30% for males can be

DIAGRAM 10

TABLE : JOB ASPIRATIONS BY SEX

Sex	Job Aspirations - O.P.C.S. Class										Total	
	1		2		3		4		5		No	%
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		
Male	25	5.0	32	6.4	355	71.3	69	13.9	17	3.4	498	57.8
Female	7	1.9	76	20.9	150	41.3	116	62.7	14	3.9	363	42.2
TOTAL	32	3.7	108	12.5	505	58.7	185	21.5	31	3.6	861	100

DIAGRAM 11

STEPWISE REGRESSION - PERCENTAGE VARIANCE IN JOB ASPIRATIONS

(Females and Males)

Females

49%

Mental/Manual Work -	2%	.009
Immediate/Deferred Rewards -	3%	.000
Mismatch -	11%	.000

Males

30%

Parent Aspirations -	33%	.000	Pro/Anti School Values -		.043
			Mental/manual work -		.013
			Mismatch -	9%	.000
			Parent Aspirations -	19%	.000



explained. The vertical order of presentation of variables from the base indicates the choice order of 'best' variables and the figures on the right hand side of the columns show the significance level for each variable. The cut-off points for reporting variables has been taken to be 1% or when the significance level for that variable is above the 5% level. Theoretically when a variable is reached, in the choice order of 'best' variables, with a significance level of over 5%, then the following variables chosen can give no valid indication of influence on the dependent variable. Practically, however, for all sub-samples reported, all these following variables had less than a 1% influence on variance anyway. The indication is that there is little overlap in what the variables reported in the step-wise regressions are measuring, a significant fact, particularly for the variable Mismatch.

Returning to Diagram (11) which breaks down the sample by sex, the fact that 49% of the variation in Job Aspiration levels for girls could be explained, but only 30% for boys, is evidence that it appeared easier to predict and explain the job aspirations of girls.

Parents' aspirations for the job status of their daughters explained 33% of change in the job aspirations of their daughters. This is a high figure and compares with 19% for sons. Mismatch, with respective percentages of 11 and 9, is the only other important predictor variable, confirming the evidence of the Pearson Correlations. The other two variables for girls are Immediate/Deferred Rewards (3%) and Mental/Manual Work (2%). The first of these (Questionnaire Item 25) is a measure of the extent to which

a low paid job with training and security is preferred to high wages in unskilled work that is not 'safe and steady'. In dialogues with pupils girls tended to emphasise the benefits of skilled work and some Asian girls seemed particularly sensitive to women working at unskilled manual jobs, a situation they seemed to think had a social stigma attached to it. Boys talked more in terms of wages, but this variable did not appear to have any marked influence on their attitudes, according to the statistical evidence.

The preference for mental or manual labour variable (Questionnaire Item 24) had more influence on change in job aspirations for all sub-samples of girls compared with boys. This variable certainly produces no evidence, therefore, for the existence of attitudes held like those of Willis' lads, who had a pride in heavy physical labour.

Neither was there any evidence, for boys or girls, that job aspirations were affected by pro/anti school curriculum attitudes, either from stepwise regressions or product moment correlations. The 1% influence for boys of pro/anti school values was also negligible.

(iii) Breakdown by Ethnic Origin

Diagram (12) cross tabulates Job Aspiration levels with Ethnic Origin. There were no outstanding differences in levels of job aspirations between the ethnic groups, except that Asians tended to be a little more ambitious.

Product moment correlations for all White and all Indian pupils added little insight into the determinants of job aspirations, the two influential variables again being Parent Aspirations for their children (0.52 for Whites and 0.46 for Indians) and Mismatch (0.37 and 0.35). Nor did stepwise regression for all Indians, though, as will be seen (Section iv), this was not so for Indian girls. The small sample of 30 Pakistanis, on which limited analysis was carried out, was only interesting in that Parent Aspirations had the highest correlation of any sub-group (0.65). West Indians, however, turned out to be a unique sub-group. Pearson Correlations revealed that the Parent Aspirations/Job Aspirations correlation of 0.28 was the lowest of all sub-groups and below the level of 0.30 selected as worthy of reporting. Mismatch had a comparatively higher correlation (0.45) and the variable which measures respondents' perceptions of the level of qualifications their parents wanted them to get correlated at 0.42.

Diagram (13) compares stepwise regression analysis for white and West Indian respondents. According to this diagram, it would appear that it was easier to predict the job aspirations of white pupils compared with West Indians, but in fact this was not the case. A total of 51% of the variance in job status aspirations of West Indians was predictable, with fourteen variables producing this 51%.

DIAGRAM 12

TABLE : JOB ASPIRATIONS BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

Ethnic Origin	Job Aspirations - O.P.C.S. Class											
	1		2		3		4		5		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
White	17	3.4	54	10.9	278	55.9	129	25.6	21	4.2	497	57.7
Pakistani	3	10.0	3	10.0	22	73.3	1	3.3	1	3.3	30	3.5
Indian	9	3.7	38	15.4	163	66.2	28	11.3	8	3.3	246	28.6
West Indian	3	4.3	12	17.1	28	40.0	26	37.1	1	1.4	70	8.1
Half-caste	0	0	1	5.5	14	77.7	3	16.6	0	0	18	2.1
TOTAL	32	3.7	108	12.5	505	58.7	185	21.5	31	3.6	861	100.0

## DIAGRAM 13

## STEPWISE REGRESSION - PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN JOB ASPIRATIONS

(White and West Indian Respondents)

<u>Whites</u>			<u>West Indians</u>		
	<u>47%</u>			<u>34%</u>	
Size of Family -	2%	.006			
Mental/Manual Work -	2%	.003			
Parents' hopes: qualifications -	3%	.000			
			Work for Wages -	2%	.026
			Work Enjoyment -	2%	.026
Mismatch -	13%	.000	Parents' hopes: qualifications -	9%	.020
Parent Aspirations -	27%	.000			
			Mismatch -	21%	.002

Of these 14, 10 had less than 1% influence on change, though all were significant at the 5% level. Thus statistically at least it can be stated that the job aspirations of West Indians were subject to a wide range of influences, but the unique pattern of these determinants of West Indians' job aspirations demands an attempt at explanation.

Comparatively more time was spent in dialogues with West Indian pupils than with other ethnic groups, though a number were reluctant to go into detailed discussion on their questionnaire responses. Those interviewed did explain, to some extent, the strong influence of the Mismatch variable, that is the division of those who expected to get the job they wanted and those who did not. The hypothesis that this is a personality variable, measuring confidence/no confidence in future career prospects, could be modified slightly for West Indians. For confidence or no confidence could be read optimistic, happy-go-lucky and extrovert, as opposed to pessimistic, depressed and disgruntled.

The happy-go-lucky West Indians enjoyed life, felt sure that they would get the right job and earn a lot of money. The boys would buy a car and the girls would end up in a fine house. They worried a little about potential lack of qualifications, but this problem was easily dismissed, sometimes on the grounds that the best paid jobs for youngsters did not need qualifications.

The pessimistic and disgruntled West Indians seemed to have little hope of getting the jobs to which they aspired. The

expressed reasons for this covered a wide spectrum of problems, ranging from health to the response of one boy, who in answer to the question asking what was thought would prevent him getting the job he wanted (Questionnaire Item 19) wrote :-

"I have got no-body who likes me my father hates me".

Racial issues, perhaps, were the strongest impression that came from the West Indian group, even though racialist attitudes did not emerge as a determinant of job aspirations.

The stepwise regression (Diagram 13), for West Indians, also selected two variables measuring Pro/Anti Work attitudes; perceptions of whether most people enjoy their work and whether or not most people work only for the wage packet at the end of the week (Item 20, questions 1 and 2). These two variables were included separately because, whilst for the sample as a whole the two reliably constituted a Pro/Anti Work measure, they did not for West Indians. Thus the possibility that some West Indians hold anti-work attitudes, suggested by P. Willis and other writers, was strengthened.

In summary, this interpretation of the dialogues with West Indian pupils was subjective and there was a danger of stereotyping; nevertheless, the impressions were vivid and West Indians appeared to be a unique group.

The job aspirations of white and Indian pupils did not differ significantly from each other so far as the main predictors of job aspirations were concerned. Parent aspirations for their children dominated for both groups and for Pakistani pupils' parents' aspirations were more influential than for any other racial group.

(iv) Breakdown by Sex and Ethnic Origin

This section only reports the differences between males and females in the White and Indian ethnic groups because both the Pakistani total sample (30) and the West Indian (70) were too small to breakdown by sex. The stepwise regression technique cannot be used where the number of variables is similar to the number of cases, which would have been the case for the 35 West Indian males and 35 females.

The most interesting group were Indian boys in that the variables used in this study were of limited use in explaining the determinants of their job aspirations. The product moment correlations found only one variable correlating with Job Status Aspiration, that is Parents' Aspirations, but the level was only 0.32. Stepwise regression explained only 15% of change in Job Aspirations, with 3 variables explaining 8% (Parent Aspirations); 5% (Mismatch) and 2% (Unemployment seen as an obstacle to getting job aspired to). No reasons can be offered, from the discussions and dialogues with Indian boys, for the inability to explain what determined their career attitudes. They appeared to be interested, to hold coherent attitudes to careers and to be willing to discuss them. The only possibility is that they were a heterogeneous group; Sikhs, some born in Africa, some Urdu speaking Indians and some Gujerati. The two latter groups could not be identified from the questionnaire; anyway, this could only be a partial explanation, since Indian girls were highly predictable, as Diagram (14) shows.

Again it is confirmed (Diagram 14) that girls' career





attitudes and particularly job aspirations are more predictable. What the diagram does not show is that 20 variables, all significant at less than 5%, can explain the high figure of 73% of variance in job aspirations of Indian girls; 8 variables explain 56% of variance for white girls, but no other variables for white boys, other than those on the diagram, explaining 47% of variance, are below 5% significance. Thus, more weight is added to the suggestion made (Part ii, this chapter) that it is easier to identify and predict the forces that influence the career attitudes of girls. No previous research in the field has found similar evidence, but this is probably because most previous research has concentrated on boys.

For Indian girls, six independent variables explained 60% of change, as shown in the diagram, of which 41% was attributable to Parents' Aspirations for their daughters jobs. This confirms the high Pearson Correlation, Job Aspiration/Parent Aspiration for child, of 0.64.

For a variety of reasons, the Indian girls were a particularly interesting group. It must be admitted that a mature white adult, known by many of them as a teacher, was not the best person to develop, in dialogues, in-depth relationships, especially with a wide generation gap. Yet the influences of their inheritances from their traditional culture were clear, as were their struggles to escape from these inheritances. Some were realistic in their career attitudes; for example, many of them seemed more aware than other sub-samples of the relationship between job status and qualifications

and also of the higher status jobs that can be obtained without qualifications. As they got higher up the school, these girls spoke in a mature manner of their career attitudes and prospects in a culturally conflicting environment. It is strongly suggested that they give the clue to an explanation of why girls in general are, in the context of this study, more predictable. The cultural background of girls, with future prospects of wife and mother, allows them fewer options and is more restrictive. Moreover, the girls are more mature physically and mentally than boys of their own age.

The other independent variables forming the cluster of variables which explained Indian girls' job aspirations were also apparent in their views expressed verbally. For some of the girls, immediate material rewards from the world of work (4%) tended to be of secondary importance to the acquiring of a skill or training which would be useful later, since they were sensitive to financial difficulties in their own families. Many of their mothers work and daughters were also sensitive to the low status of their mothers job, which was, however, necessary due to the identification of social status with material possessions amongst Asian sub-cultures.

In this cultural context the Mismatch variable (9%) is easily rationalised. Those Indian girls who saw themselves as being able to acquire skills and higher status jobs were more confident personalities and were more optimistic for their long term future.

The variable indicating whether the father was unemployed or

not accounted for 2% of change and expectancy of job changing 3%. Both Indian boys and girls seemed to think that constant change of job was inevitable for those with low status jobs.

As Diagram (14) illustrates, white girls and boys were less influenced than Indian girls by parents' aspirations for their career (29% and 27% respectively). Among the other influential variables it is interesting to note, for both boys and girls, perceptions of qualifications likely to be obtained as an obstacle to job aspirations (2% and 5%). The other variables having minor but significant influences were less easily explained. Some boys' job aspirations were higher (4% influence) the smaller the size of the family (and vice versa) which, as measured, included all people living in their house with them. No evidence was available to explain why this variable applied only to boys, who also differed from girls in that 2% of variance was explained by the extent to which behaviour in leisure time conformed to adults' standards (Questionnaire Item 23, questions 3 and 4). Since girls appeared to be more sensitive to control of their leisure time by parents, it was interesting to note that this variable did not seem to have any marked influence on girls' attitudes. The Mental/Manual work explained 3% of change in girls but did not enter the equation for boys. This was understandable; white girls frequently expressed strong opposition to going 'into a factory' which was often their only concept of manual work and low aspirants sometimes thought of the jobs they wanted as 'not having to use your brain'.

The other two variables influencing white girls' job

aspirations were Pro/Anti the formal school curriculum (2%) and perceptions of unemployment as an obstacle to job wanted (2%).

In summary, the forces that determined Indian girls' job status aspirations were comparatively highly predictable. They were strongly influenced by parents aspirations for their career, this variable also being the dominant one for white respondents.

For both Indian and white girls, a number of minor forces relating to the labour market were influences; individually they exert limited influence, but put together it is worthy of notice that none of them had any influence on white boys' job aspirations. This was unexpected.

The statistical evidence offers hardly any information on the determinants of job status aspirations of Indian boys; quite unexpected from the dialogues with them. The only explanation offered is that the differing cultural forces acting on them from their varied religious and geographical backgrounds made them a heterogeneous group. This subjective view has limited justification since Indian girls had the same varied cultural backgrounds. Perhaps boys retain more of their previous cultural heritage, particularly relating to the status of men within the family.

(v) Breakdown by School Year

Procedure for the statistical analysis of the determinants of job aspirations by school year brought problems of selection because of the large amount of potentially relevant data. The difficulty was to establish the points in school life where career attitudes and input variables had a changed influence on job status aspirations and how the changing influences affected various sub-samples. Nine test programmes were run, resulting in a concentration on the sample breakdown at the end of the third year, that is 1st, 2nd and 3rd years compared with 4th and 5th year. Fourth and fifth years by themselves also proved of some interest and are reported as appropriate. The small sample from first year must be borne in mind throughout the analysis, as must the fact that the questionnaires were presented at the end of the first term and the beginning of the second. Consequently, for each school year, respondents had only experienced just under or just over one term of that year.

Diagram (15) shows a Cross-Tabulation of Job Aspirations by School Year. The remarkable feature of this Diagram is the consistency of the numbers in each O.P.C.S. Class throughout the school years. The societal and educational experiences of the school had no significant effect on the numbers aspiring to O.P.C.S. classes 1, 2 and 5; the small number of high aspirants in the middle and lower streams did not lower their sights and the small number (total 31 throughout the school) of those wanting unskilled jobs never exceeded 4.6% for any school year. It would appear there were not sufficient numbers of them to constitute sub-cultures like Willis' lads, bent on unskilled labour.

DIAGRAM 15

TABLE : JOB ASPIRATIONS BY SCHOOL YEAR

School Year	Job Status Aspirations O.P.C.S. Class											
	1		2		3		4		5		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1	0	0	12	20.3	33	55.9	12	20.3	2	3.4	59	6.9
2	5	3.0	20	12.0	90	54.2	47	28.3	4	2.4	166	19.3
3	11	5.1	29	13.4	128	59.3	38	17.6	10	4.6	216	25.1
4	10	5.0	21	10.6	129	64.8	32	16.1	7	3.5	199	23.1
5	6	2.7	26	11.8	125	56.6	56	25.3	8	3.6	221	25.7
TOTAL	32	3.7	108	12.5	505	58.7	185	21.5	31	3.6	861	100

The differences between O.P.C.S. Classes 3 and 4 were smaller than might be expected, but as expected. Ignoring the small first year group, the numbers aspiring to jobs in Class 3 (skilled) rose from 54.2% in second year to 64.8% in fourth year, then fell in fifth year to 56.6%. Over the same period aspirants to semi-skilled jobs fell from 28.3% to 16.1%, then rose to 25.3%. Thus, as fourth year got under way, with the beginning of 'O' level and C.S.E. work (mainly the latter for this sample), influences which could be assumed to relate to anti-school attitudes, job market and perceptions of academic ability combined to lower job aspirations, but only for a small number of the sample. The test product moment correlations confirmed the most important cut-off point, but the number of correlations was too small for great changes in attitudes affecting job aspirations to be revealed. However, there were changes.

Comparing first, second and third year, henceforward termed Lower School, with fourth and fifth year, termed Upper School; for all pupils in the Lower School the Mismatch variable correlated with Job Aspirations at 0.42, whereas for Upper School the correlation was only 0.26. There must have been older pupils who were less optimistic and confident of getting the job they wanted and expected to get lower status jobs or jobs they perceived to be of a lower status. It must be emphasised that this did not apply to many pupils (see Diagram 15); stepwise regression still selected the Mismatch variable for the Upper School and its influence only fell 2% to 6%. However, predictability was low (32%). It is clear that a longitudinal study is needed here, but in its absence the only evidence that can be offered for the lowering of aspirations and expectations is that the threat of



unemployment played a part, particularly for white girls, as will be seen (Diagram 17). The role of factors arising within the school, such as the possibility of failure in examinations, would be expected to be a partial explanation of the slight falling off of the aspirations to the skilled worker class, but most of the pupils in the sample did not take public examinations. Whether the fall off applied mostly to those taking examinations is not known. These issues overlap with the analysis of the school's role in influencing career attitudes (this chapter, 4.ii), but the evidence that only 22 more fifth year pupils mentioned qualifications as an obstacle to getting the job they wanted, compared with fourth year (Diagram 22. this chapter 4.ii) and also that actually 14 more third years mentioned qualifications in this context compared with fourth year, suggests that the role of the school curriculum was negligible.

The facts are, then, that job aspirations did not appear to fall off to any great extent as the pupils got older, nor is there any change in perceptions of qualifications as an obstacle to getting jobs. Some worried more about unemployment, but generally the youngsters appeared to be immune to pressures, academic and otherwise, which arose in the school. If there is a point in school life when changes occurred, it is at the beginning of fourth year, but the statistical evidence was so thin that it does not justify any conclusions being drawn.

In this context the dialogues with pupils proved particularly valuable. For pupils taking C,S.E. the question of whether they would succeed was deliberately brought up and related to job

aspirations. Qualifications seemed of little interest or concern to many, except for vague hopes of success and assurances that they were working hard. To take an example; many Indian and Pakistani boys aspiring to become motor mechanics (the job most opted for, see Appendix II), a skilled job by O.P.C.S. classification, were well aware that they could do this work without qualifications and were more concerned with where they might get a job and with the actual work they would be doing. The interesting possibility cannot be avoided that many working class youngsters are, consciously or unconsciously, more related to the actual conditions in the labour market than may be imagined, in that they realise the blurring of distinctions between skilled and semi-skilled workers. Certainly, they know that many unskilled jobs, with piece-work, pay comparatively higher wages. Thus, the assumption made earlier in this argument, that perceptions of academic failure lower aspirations, is probably a false one for many youngsters in the sample: it may apply to the top stream taking 'O' Level or to the middle class pupils who have so frequently been compared with working class youngsters in numerous earlier researches. Perhaps the assumption itself has middle class associations; indeed, so may have the search for statistical evidence to establish cut-off points where forces within the school begin to exert their influence on job aspirations.

In fact, qualifications were mentioned in discussion much more by Lower School than by Upper School pupils. Normally the themes were that qualifications were necessary and 'good' to have, but with little reference to specific jobs. As with the pilot

questionnaire sample, the ignorance of some pupils, even in the middle school, of qualification levels was remarkable (see Chapter IV. 3.) Some fourth year pupils knew neither what 'C.S.E.' meant nor what subjects they were entered for and 'A' Level qualifications were an area of mystery to many pupils. Only for Upper School Indian girls was there any correlation between job aspired to and qualifications perceived as needed for that job.

(vi) Breakdown by School Year, Sex and Ethnic Origin

Pearson correlations showed only one difference between Upper School boys and girls, namely the relationship between qualifications perceived to be needed for job aspired. There was no significant correlation for boys, but for girls it was significant at 0.34. This suggests that the older girls were more aware of the qualifications needed for the job they wanted. The correlation between Parent Aspirations for child's career and Job Aspiration was 0.60 for Upper School girls compared with 0.42 for boys.

Once again the determinants of girls' job aspirations were easier to identify by stepwise regression, as Diagram (16) shows. This Diagram also shows the emergence of another variable in the Upper School relating to school curriculum, namely the 2% influence for boys of self perceptions of ability at school work. The Mental/Manual work variable was equally influential for girls and boys (6% and 5%). Indeed, in discussions, girls appeared far more prepared to discuss issues of mental/manual work than boys; both seemed to be concerned with how they would cope with manual work as entry into the labour market grew imminent.

Comparing stepwise regressions by sex in the lower school for boys and girls, fewer variables were significant (4 and 5) and predictability was comparatively low (49% and 33%). The only new variable entering of interest for boys was of minor influence, that is size of family (3%).

When the sample is broken down by sex and ethnic origin, for Lower and Upper School, the results were interesting both statistically and from the information derived from them.

DIAGRAM 16

STEPWISE REGRESSION - PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN JOB ASPIRATIONS

(Upper School Girls and Boys)

Girls

57%

Pro/Anti School Values -	.050
Pro/Anti School Curriculum -	.050
Father Employed or Not -	2% .014
Immediate/Deferred Rewards -	3% .012
Mental/Manual Work -	6% .001

Boys

Mismatch -	8% .000
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33%

Good at School Work -	2% .020
Qualifications Obstacle -	3% .014
Mental/Manual Work -	5% .002

Parent Aspirations -	36% .000
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Mismatch -	5% .002
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Parent Aspirations -	18% .000
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It has already been established that, as far as the main predictor variables from stepwise regressions were concerned, there was some identity between White and Indian pupils and that the smaller and more homogeneous the sample, the greater the predictability. Also Indian girls were most highly predictable of all the sub-samples. These points are confirmed by Diagrams 17 and 18, which compared stepwise regressions for Lower School White and Indian girls and Upper School White and Indian girls.

The statistical interest in Diagrams 17 and 18 was the exceedingly high levels of predictability for Indian girls. Predictability levels over 70% cannot be expected, but the results of 80% and 77% for Upper School and Lower School Indian girls respectively were explicable, to some extent, in terms of the dialogues held with the girls, particularly with those in the Upper School. In conversations about the world of work, older Indian girls seemed to talk with greater maturity than Asian boys, which might not be expected. They did see that unemployment might make things difficult for them to get jobs and their Job Aspirations were influenced (6%) by whether or not their father was unemployed, but this factor did not influence younger Indian girls who were influenced (6%) by their perceptions of qualifications as an obstacle to their career ambitions. Interestingly, for some younger Indian girls, the fewer siblings they had, the higher were their job aspirations (4%). Aspirations of Upper School Indian Girls tended to be lower if they aimed for jobs which gave immediate rewards (7%) and vice versa, unlike younger Indian girls.

The overall tendency was for Indian girls to have similar

## DIAGRAM 17

STEPWISE REGRESSION - PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN JOB ASPIRATIONS

(Lower School Indian and White Girls)

Lower  
School  
Indian  
Girls

77%

Lower  
School  
White  
Girls

62%

Stream -	4%	.027			
Mental/Manual Work -	4%	.050			
Number of Siblings -	4%	.051			
Qualifications Obstacle -	6%	.034	Mental/Manual Work -	2%	.033
			Fear of Unemployment -	3%	.052
Job Change -	8%	.019	Leisure with Family -	3%	.025
			Job Change -	3%	.027
			Qualifications Obstacle -	6%	.003
Mismatch -	11%	.012			
			Mismatch -	17%	.000
Parent Aspirations -	40%	.000			
			Parent Aspirations -	28%	.000

## DIAGRAM 18

## STEPWISE REGRESSION - PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN JOB ASPIRATIONS

(Upper School Indian and White Girls)

	Upper School Indian Girls		Upper School White Girls	
	80%			
Leisure spent with friends -	3%	.032		
Leisure; adult conformity -	4%	.007		
Mental/Manual Work -	6%	.037		
Father employed or not -	6%	.022		
Immediate/Deferred Rewards -	7%	.032		52%
			Mental/Manual work -	2% .014
Mismatch -	9%	.015	Mismatch -	2% .019
			Pro/Anti School Curriculum -	4% .050
			Number of Siblings -	5% .034
			Unemployment Obstacle -	13% .001
Parent Aspirations -	45%	.000		
			Parent Aspirations -	26% .000



determinants of job status aspirations to white girls. The differences were seen to be due to the attitudes of Upper School white girls. They were an unusual group. Mismatch had a 2% influence (compared with 17% for lower school white girls) and 13% of variance was explained by unemployment perceived as an obstacle to job aspirations. This might suggest that 'Mismatch' was a measure of confidence related to unemployment, but for the facts that such a situation occurred in no other sub-group. The 6% influence of qualifications could be connected to criticisms expressed by the girls of lack of vocationally orientated curricula, such as for office training, which they believed should have replaced some academic subjects. No explanation is offered for the fact that the number of siblings only entered the equation for the older white girls. It did enter for lower school girls at 2% but was not significant.

A new variable entering for lower school white girls was the amount of leisure time spent with the family; as this increased so job aspirations were higher.

The very high predictability levels for Indian Upper School girls was even more remarkable when it is compared with their male counterparts. Only 18% of change in Job Aspirations could be explained, of which 13% was attributable to Parents' Aspirations. The other 5% was, however, unique for any sub-sample, namely the influence of peers on career. Moreover, this variable related mainly to fifth year Indian boys. It might be that they turn to their friends for guidance and opinion on jobs as they get nearer

to leaving. Some evidence for this was an endeavour to seek jobs as motor mechanics by a large number of them and in discussion, many arguments supportive of the benefits of this work were expressed.

White boys in the Upper School were more predictable; seven variables explained 53% of change in Job Aspirations with only two differences in the broad picture for boys in general. These are Qualifications seen as an obstacle to getting the job wanted (4%) and the emergence of the Sexist variable (2%, Questionnaire Item 23, questions 1 and 2; Item 25, questions 3 and 4). Sexist attitudes held related to low aspirations .

Lower School white boys were predictable up to 50% of variance in Job Aspirations; 30% being Parent Aspirations, followed by Mismatch (12%), Size of Family (4%) and amount of time spent with friends in leisure time (4%); the more time they spent with friends, the lower their job aspirations.

Lower School Indian boys were hardly any more predictable than their older counterparts, only 20% of variance being explainable (16% Parents' Aspirations and 4% Mismatch).

The smallness of the sample of West Indians is particularly frustrating in that dialogues indicated that there were interesting differences between Lower and Upper Schools. Stepwise regressions are not possible because there were only 38 and 32 West Indians respectively in the Lower and Upper School. These numbers also made interpretation of the Pearson correlations for the group suspect. However, two outcomes are worthy of reporting. A correlation of 0.48 between Job Aspirations level and perceptions of

unemployment making it hard to get the job wanted for male and female Upper School West Indians, indicated that low aspirants fear unemployment. Also, of the 32 in this sub-group, 18 named unemployment in response to the open-ended question asking what might prevent them getting the job they wanted. This confirmed the very strong concern, even resentment, concerning the threat of unemployment which was a main feature of discussions with the pupils. These discussions also had racist overtones and 14 of the 40 pupils who named race as a factor preventing them getting the job they wanted were West Indians.

The overall picture for differences in School Year by Sex and Ethnic Origin added a little support to the possibility that the cut-off point between third and fourth years did identify differences in job aspirations and expectations and the breakdown of the Upper and Lower School samples highlighted what those differences were.

In the Upper School, girls appeared to be more aware of the qualifications required for particular jobs and were more influenced by parents' aspirations. Job aspirations were less predictable in the lower school and some boys' aspirations were lowered because their family groups were large.

In the Upper School girls' job aspirations were highly predictable, the level of predictability for Indian girls being statistically quite remarkable. Some of these Indian girls were aware of the qualifications needed for particular jobs and seemed to view the labour market quite realistically. Unlike younger Indian girls, they tended to see that unemployment would be a factor in their job aspirations, which were, to some extent, influenced by whether their fathers were unemployed

or not. The aspirations of Lower School Indian girls tended to be lower if they had more siblings and if they wanted high wages in their work.

Upper School white girls uniquely seemed to lose the confidence that their younger counterparts had that they would get the job they wanted and unemployment was a dominant factor in their career attitudes. They tended to develop anti-school curriculum attitudes and some of them, unlike younger white girls, were influenced in their job aspirations by the number of siblings in the family.

Indian boys in the Upper School were the least predictable of all sub-groups studied, but they were unique in that their peers' career attitudes had some influence on their job aspirations.

In the Lower School Indian boys' job aspirations were only slightly more predictable than their older counterparts and some younger white boys had lower job aspirations as the size of the family unit increased and as they spent more leisure time with their peers.

(vii) Breakdown by Stream

The variable Stream, which discriminated between Mid-Stream and low-Stream respondents, did not correlate with Job Aspirations above the 0.30 level in any of the product moment correlations for any of the sub-samples. Nor did any of the stepwise regression programmes select Stream as a variable causing change in Job Aspirations, except for a 1% influence for all white males in the sample. The six Pearson Correlation programmes which divided the sample into various sub-groups by Stream, were implemented because discrimination in various career attitudes emerged and are reported later as appropriate.

The lack of discrimination between levels of Job Aspiration by Stream was mainly due to the fact that almost as many low stream pupils aspired to skilled as to semi or unskilled jobs; similarly, mid-stream pupils aspired to semi or unskilled jobs. Of the 505 aspirants to skilled jobs, 263 (52.1%) were low stream, constituting 57% of all the low stream pupils in the sample.

Two possible explanations are possible; the first is that many pupils did not see any great differences between many skilled and unskilled jobs; they did not see the differences that might exist in the form of qualifications and training required. As has been said before, they may be more correct than teachers and careers officers are prepared to admit, since the visits to industry, carried out in the course of this study, have established that in many jobs such distinctions between skilled and semi-skilled are not always found. Consequently, academic ability and associated variables may not be a factor influencing job aspirations. In this context the second

explanation could be a function of this particular school: perceptions of academic status may not be related to job levels associated with them by society in general because, for one reason, many younger pupils are uninformed on their academic status within the school and on the banding method of streaming. Since a purpose of the school appeared to be to hide the streaming process in the lower school, it was difficult to discuss the status of particular classes with respondents. Nevertheless, it was apparent that the 'good' pupils were generally recognised to be in the top band, but not only were the edges blurred between the lower bands, in the eyes of the pupils, by the class names, but also by overlapping curricula.

The lack of difference in Job Aspirations by Stream in the Upper School is rather extraordinary considering the fact that many mid-stream pupils normally take public examinations and low-stream pupils do not; also career decision making is imminent. The fact is, however, as has been pointed out, the percentage of mid and low stream pupils, at each level of job status aspiration, did not change much throughout the school.

There was a slight sex difference in the tendencies of low stream pupils to aspire to skilled jobs. Of 263 low-stream aspirants for skilled jobs, 83 were girls (45.8% of all low-stream girls) and 180 boys (64% of all low-stream boys).

The evidence presented for boys completely disproves Ashton's thesis (D.N. Ashton. 1973. 004), at least for this particular school. This research, which has been outlined in Chapter II.2.(ii), suggests that mid-stream working class boys have a different 'frame

of reference' from low stream boys, the former being purposeful, conformist and dedicated in their pursuit of skilled jobs, which are obtained by gaining qualifications, both at school and afterwards. The frame of reference of low-stream boys was exactly the opposite and they were resigned to unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Most of the respondents in the present study did not generally talk in terms of skilled/unskilled and the low-stream boys appeared to be as ambitious as the mid-stream boys.

In an attempt to explain the lack of discrimination in job aspirations by mid and low streams, the view of a senior staff member at the school was sought, some time after the research in the school had been completed. Notes taken at the time, using his own words but making a precis of them, confirm that there may be fewer differences between the middle and low streams than there were in some other schools. He said that there were differences at 'each end', with the top of the mid-stream being able to achieve reasonable C.S.E. results and the bottom of the low stream having many pupils who should be with the 'E.S.N. group'. However, in the middle there was no great difference in I.Q. average scores for classes. These I.Q. scores, which were recorded in the last year of Junior School, average far below the mean (probably 90/91) for the whole intake and were not made available to the researcher of this project.

The teacher suggested that many 'immigrants' had language difficulties which kept many Asians in the lower streams, even though they were 'quite bright'. Consequently, academic results

often evened out, registering a balance of ability and linguistic competence. Many low-stream Asians, condemned to this status at school, did well 'at the Tech' later. He was of the opinion that one could make a cut-off point between top stream and the rest. He could not see why there should be differences in job aspiration status levels, since they all went for working class jobs.

This explanation has some logic, given the blurring of distinctions between skilled, semi and unskilled labour in the surrounding work environment.



(3) CHARACTERISTICS OF JOB ASPIRATIONS

(i) Actual Jobs Nominated by Respondents

The Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys breaks down its job classifications into industries and this breakdown is used in Appendix II to record the jobs nominated by respondents as those they hoped to get.

The breakdown records, strikingly, the extent to which career horizons were limited by the catchment area of the school and its near environment. The inevitable distinction in most earlier researches in this field, between indoor and outdoor work, has little relevance in that only 3 respondents wanted to be 'Farmers, Foresters or Fishermen'. The nationally large industries of mining, the chemical industry and textiles were not mentioned by a single pupil and working in the clothing, paper and printing and other industries only attracted the interest of a total of seven respondents.

Engineering and its allied trades, plus foundry work, was the job choice of 190 respondents (22% of the whole sample), 22 of whom were girls. This apparent attraction of engineering must, however, be modified by the fact that 88 boys aspired to be motor vehicle mechanics. Of these 88, 59 were Asian (Indian and Pakistani), representing 35% of the 169 Asian boys in the sample. This was a quite remarkably high figure and unfortunately the popularity of this work was not picked up until late in the period spent in the school. Thus, the dialogues with pupils cannot confidently offer an explanation. The reasons appeared to be that there are now a number of small local garages with Asian proprietors, whose

social and economic status is high in their own ethnic communities, in which the car itself is a prized status symbol.

Also there was the common teen-age boys' interest in motor cycles and cars; the employer might be from the same ethnic group; jobs were perceived to be available and could be obtained without qualifications. Experience in the work was seen as the key to progress, so that once again, the identification of skilled work with qualifications was unrealistic in the minds of the prospective employees and they were probably correct. The ultimate ambition of a number of Indian boys was to own their own service station, which was seen as an easier way to prosperity than a shop, where the work was perceived to be harder and, above all, more worrying due to competition. Only eleven Indian boys aspired to jobs as shop salesmen and assistants, with, it is assumed from the written comments of some of them, the main intention being to own their own shop.

Shop work was the second most common job nominated by girls and 49 (13% of the girls in the sample) wanted this type of work. Yet 69 girls (19%) expected to work in shops. As has been pointed out (Chapter IV, 3.), many girls saw a clear distinction between status levels of shop work, ranging from the low status of the hypermarket and local small shop to the well paid national chain store and the gown shop. By far the main attraction for these working class girls was clerical and office work (91 girls, constituting 25% of all girls in the sample). The office work they wanted was almost entirely in production and service industries and only 46 of the 91 actually specified that they wanted to be typists.

and secretaries. The others, when they described the actual work they would be doing, wrote in general terms, mentioning filing, doing the post, helping with the switchboard and even making the tea.

Only five respondents in the whole sample wanted clerical jobs in the civil service, but those wanting to be bank clerks were an interesting group in that 25 of the 35 aspirants were boys, all of them except 4 being Indians. To them, this was a high status job, the function of the bank clerk, to most of them, being to advise people what to do with their money with a bonus of knowing what to do with your own money. No Pakistani boy and only 2 West Indian boys aspired to be bank clerks.

The O.P.C.S. category that attracted most aspirants was 'Professional and Technical Workers and Artists', and this group included the large proportion of aspirants in Class 1 and 2 job status levels. The largest number wanted to be nurses, a total of 44, all girls (12% of all girls). Twenty-seven of these also expected to become nurses, positive evidence of the relationship of Job Aspiration level with the Mismatch variable. Nursing was attractive to West Indian girls (15 of the 35 in the sample). They also saw nursing as an easy job to get and ability to work hard rather than qualifications was emphasised as the main prerequisite. The six aspirants to the medical profession and one dentist were all Indians, one of the former being a girl. Of the seven, four expected to achieve their aim, though two specifically stated that it would take them a long time and that they would have to get qualifications after school before going to 'medical college' and 'to get training

in a hospital'.

The second main body of aspirants in this professional category was teachers (24) and nursery teachers (17). The latter were substitute teachers mainly and all aimed for a very thriving and oversubscribed course at a local Technical College. However, the aspirants, all girls, seemed to think that there was little difficulty in getting training as a nursery nurse, though the prospective teachers were less optimistic. Their written and spoken comments imply that knowledge of unemployment amongst teachers had got through to them. Nine of the twenty put nursery nurse as the job they expected to get.

Generally, the other aspirants to professional and similar status technical jobs were an optimistic, indeed over-optimistic bunch and their jobs expected were usually alternative professional jobs. There was undoubtedly an element of fantasy, but also determination and there was no tailing off of such aspirations until the fifth year.

In total, this professional O.P.C.S. category, with its diverse range of jobs, was aspired to by 131 (15%) respondents.

Jobs in the Service, Sport and Recreation category attracted 84, nearly 10% of the sample. Thirty-two of these were girls who opted for hairdressing. For some unknown reason, these jobs were perceived to be difficult to get, whilst the 21 who wanted to join the police force were mostly confident that they would be able to do so. Five of these were girls, only two of them white; but all the boys were white.

There were only two other categories which attracted a number of applicants, 42 boys who wanted to be Electricians and 61 Transport and Communication workers, all of whom were boys except for four telephone operators.

On the whole then, the large proportion aspired to working class jobs. If the nursing group is regarded as a special case because nursing has become more of a working class profession, only 87 (10%) of the sample aspired to professional or semi-professional jobs or the equivalent. Taking out the aspirants to teaching and nursery nursing leaves only 46 (5%).

The range of jobs aspired to was incredibly limited; the ten most named jobs with the number of nominations were :-

Motor Mechanics	88
Shop Assistants	60
Clerk (general)	58
Typists and Secretaries	46
Nurses	44
Teachers and Nursery teachers	41
Bank Clerks	35
Hairdressers	32
Lorry Drivers	32
Electricians	28 (plus 14 radio and T.V. repairers)

These ten jobs accounted for 478 (56%) of the whole sample.

(ii) Fantasy Job Choices

The criteria for defining fantasy choices has been described in Chapter IV (3). The actual number was remarkably low, a total of 36 (4%), so that job choices were very realistic, using the term in the sense of Ginsberg's psychologically based developmental theories. So few of the choices were fantasy that either Ginsberg's concept that all youngsters go through a fantasy stage is unsound or British youth pass through the stage much earlier than American youngsters. However, there is some support for the developmental theorists in that the older the respondents got, the fewer were the fantasy choices (given the small first year sample).

The list of fantasy jobs named was very short and the jobs exhibitionist in nature, as Diagram (19) shows.

As has been pointed out, all the fantasy jobs were interviewed and asked to nominate alternative jobs. This they did without difficulty, most of the alternatives being semi-skilled jobs.

DIAGRAM 19

TABLE : JOB ASPIRATIONS - FANTASY JOBS NAMED BY SCHOOL YEAR

Fantasy Job Named	School Year					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Air hostess	-	4	3	1	1	9
Footballer	1	3	2	1	-	7
Pop Star	1	2	2	-	-	5
Air Pilot	2	2	-	1	-	5
Model	-	1	1	-	1	3
Disc Jockey	-	1	-	1	-	2
Athlete	-	1	-	-	-	1
T.V. Actor	-	1	-	-	-	1
T.V. Surgeon	-	1	-	-	-	1
Pop Group Manager	-	-	1	-	-	1
Speedway Rider	-	-	-	1	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>36</b>

(iii) Job Aspirations and Conditions of Work

Researchers using questionnaire techniques sometimes get unexpected bonuses from the responses which may introduce unexplored concepts or new variables, measurable or not measurable. Such an example is the measurable variable 'Mismatch' in this study. These bonuses can be disturbing in that they may point to limitations in the research design and, for this study, lack of consideration of work conditions may be an example. This question arose from the ingenuous nature of the working class youngsters in the sample. They were genuinely interested in their future in the world of work, prepared and even eager, given motivation, to tackle a questionnaire which, for some of them, was difficult and many of them were prepared to add detail which was not specifically requested. In fact, there were a number of complaints that the three or four lines allowed for responses to certain questions were too few and two respondents demanded extra paper.

Many added details and comments indicated concerns with conditions of work attached to jobs; concerns for which the questionnaire had no measures. Classification of these comments was neither practical nor justified, because each group would have been too small. Nevertheless, the overall picture deserves reporting briefly because it establishes a concern with working conditions which could modify some conclusions relating to job status aspirations. In particular, there were clear indications that some aspirants to working class jobs put status secondary to the quality of life attached to the job.



In response to the question asking 'what do you think is likely to prevent you getting the job you like?' twenty-four respondents admitted, in various terms, that they did not like the idea of work very much at all. A number of them mentioned long hours and others said simply that they thought they would get too tired. Identity with parents' work was not uncommon and the questions 'say what you can' about fathers' and mothers' work (Questionnaire Items 9 and 12) brought responses by about 5% of the sample stating that the work was hard or involved long hours. More similar responses were found to the 'Job Expected' question (Item 18). The Job Aspiration question also brought bonus additions, often in the form of negative asides. Examples were that the respondents would not work night shifts or long hours, or would not do jobs which involved 'hard' work.

Responses to all the above items showed that many Asians have a very strong aversion to dirty work. The work of the fathers of forty-three Asians was stated to be dirty. One Indian girl stated that washing her father's overalls made her mother sick. For the whole sample, eighty-two responses to all the questionnaire items mentioned in this context refer to 'dirty' or 'clean' work. For girls, dirty work was often associated with factory work.

Other conditions of work mentioned were work which was dangerous to health, whether or not you could stand or sit, whether talking on the job was allowed, plus other factors not directly related to actual conditions. Some of these were distance to be travelled to get to the job, the extent to which 'a fuss' was made over

punctuality or absence, even a delusion that social security benefits were easier to get from some jobs or some places of work.

Research is needed into attitudes to conditions of work. Of relevance to the study is the possibility that a number of responses to the Job Aspiration question may have no relation to job status at all, or at least be strongly influenced by the conditions of work involved in the job. In other words, another dimension is added to the issues surrounding the relationships between measured Job Status Aspirations and other career related variables. The influence of work conditions on job aspirations may be greater than the rather meagre evidence presented above, because the questionnaire was not geared to consider work conditions. The dialogues with pupils indicated much more concern with conditions of work and there is also some evidence from the statistical analysis.

Apart from work conditions and characteristics affecting job aspirations, the material rewards of some working class labour and attitudes to these rewards sometimes render meaningless the socially conformist concepts of progress in the world of work and upward social mobility through academic achievement and endeavour. Not only did some of these youngsters know that so-called low status jobs pay off, a few of them also were well aware of how to avoid taxation and manipulate the benefits from social services. They had nous and shrewdness; a few were aware of the material rewards of jobs 'on the side' as they called them, or to use the media term, moonlighting. They knew that work for cash, whilst officially unemployed, is not uncommon and some intended to exploit its advantages, in areas such as painting and decorating. Like Willis' lads, they had some grasp of the realities of the world of work,

though, unlike the lads, they were not intent on 'hard graft'.

These attitudes could not come from the school; indeed the school was, to them, rather unrelated to the realities of the world of work.

(4) ANALYSIS OF CAREER RELATED ATTITUDES

(i) Influence of the Home and Its Environment on  
Career Related Attitudes

Family size and structure have already been seen to have a small influence on job status aspirations. These relationships are not reported again, nor are any relationships with job status aspirations throughout this section, unless they contribute to interpretation of findings.

For the sample as a whole product moment correlations did not establish any connections between family size and structure and any of the career related variables. For all the sub-samples studied no coherent pattern emerged, except for West Indians, as shown in Diagram (20). Thus, for some West Indians, larger families were associated with less parental interest in child's career, anti-school and anti-social attitudes and greater influence of peers on job choice.

The number of siblings also had a 6% influence on change in Pro/Anti school curriculum attitudes for West Indians (Stepwise Regression).

West Indians were the only racial group for whom family size had any notable influence on career attitudes, although Lower School Indian girls worried more about unemployment (0.38) and tended to develop anti-school curriculum attitudes (0.35) the larger the family they came from.

Upper School white girls not living with their parents or in one parent families, for some reason which was not apparent, tended more towards racist attitudes; the correlation here being comparatively high (0.48).

DIAGRAM 20

FAMILY SIZE : CORRELATIONS WITH CAREER RELATED VARIABLES

WEST INDIAN SUB-SAMPLE

Career Related Variable	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	
	Number in Family Unit	Number of Siblings
Parents' interest in child's career	0.41	0.38
Qualifications wanted for children by parents	0.37	0.35
Pro/Anti School Curriculum	-	0.40
Pro/Anti work	0.36	-
Perceived peers' influence on career choice	-	0.45
Attitude to teenagers engaged in crime and vandalism	0.36	-

A second group of independent variables measured which arise in the home environment were parents' jobs, or lack of jobs. For the white indigenous sample there was virtually no statistical evidence that these variables had any influence on career attitudes. For West Indians, however, again an interesting pattern of Pearson correlations emerged (Diagram 21). Whether father was unemployed or not also influenced the attitudes of Indian youngsters, with unemployed fathers associated with manual as opposed to mental work preferences (0.36 for boys and 0.40 for girls). Upper School Indian girls tended more to expect lower status jobs and to develop anti-school curriculum attitudes the lower the status of fathers' jobs (0.40 and 0.38). However, for the Indian sub-sample, there was a distinctive feature of the relationship between parents' work and career attitudes, namely the influence of mothers' work (See Diagram 22).

The influence of mothers' work on the career attitudes of Indian youngsters, particularly Upper School youngsters is not easily explained, particularly since in discussions Indian boys rarely mentioned their mothers' work. However, some Indian girls did feel strongly about the unpleasant work their mothers had to do. It is possible that the connection between the low status of mothers' work and anti-school attitudes, also general 'non-conformist' work attitudes, could be related to the fact that some Indian girls regarded low status, manual jobs for Indian women as a kind of social stigma, whereas hard and unpleasant work for father was accepted. In discussion, Indian girls wanting semi-skilled jobs were sometimes careful to point out that the work was 'clean', or 'not in a factory' or in pleasant surroundings.

DIAGRAM 21FATHERS' JOB STATUS : CORRELATIONS WITH CAREER RELATED VARIABLESWEST INDIAN SUB-SAMPLE

Career Related Variable	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	
	Father's Job Status	Father Employed/ Unemployed
Unemployment perceived as threat to career	-	0.43
Pro/Anti work	-	0.32
Mental/Manual Work	0.35	0.44
Parental Interest in career	-	0.43
Pro/Anti school values	0.42	-

DIAGRAM 22

MOTHERS' JOB STATUS : CORRELATIONS WITH CAREER RELATED VARIABLES : INDIAN SUB-SAMPLE.

Career Related Variable	Sub-Sample of Indian Population	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	
		Mothers' Job Status	Mother working/housewife
Mental/Manual Work	All Boys	0.40	-
	Upper School Girls	0.41	0.31
Unemployment perceived as threat to career	Mid-Stream Girls	0.39	-
	Upper School Girls	-	0.45
Frequency of job changing expected	Upper School Girls	-	0.45
	Upper School Girls	-	0.45
Pro/Anti School Values	All Boys	0.43	-
	Upper School Boys	-	0.39
Pro/Anti School Curriculum	Upper School Boys	-	0.39
	Upper School Girls	0.36	-
Perceived effort made at school work	Upper School Girls	-	0.35
	Upper School Girls	-	0.35
Racialism	Upper School Boys	0.38	-



The fact that the indigenous white youngsters were much less influenced in career attitudes by their parents' work status, compared with the coloured youngsters, can be related to the dialogues and discussions held with the respondents. Apart from those whose parents had jobs of a higher status than skilled (Class 3), the white pupils did not seem to talk in terms of their parents' job status, whereas non-whites, most especially Pakistanis, were most concerned with it. Indeed, non-whites were more aware of the distinctions between skilled and semi-skilled workers in many cases. Of those pupils with whom parents' jobs were discussed to enable classification by job status level, white respondents proved the most difficult. Phrases like 'he works in a factory', 'he works with tubes', 'he works on a machine' were common. The white youngsters, boys in particular, were also prepared to state in group discussions that their parents did not have good jobs. Good was often related, not to status, but to conditions of work and, to a lesser degree, with wages and hours, including times of day or night worked. Asian and West Indian youngsters were not prepared to discuss their parents' work in a group situation, except to emphasise the high status of a job held.

Thus, size and structure of the family and parents' job status influenced a wide range of career attitudes, but the dominant variable arising within the family was the same variable that had the greatest influence on the job status aspirations of respondents, namely parents' job status aspirations for their children. Diagram (23) shows the career related variables most influenced by parents'

DIAGRAM 23

PARENTS' JOB ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN : CORRELATIONS WITH CAREER RELATED VARIABLES

Career Related Variable	Parents' Job Aspirations for Their Children's Career Pearson Correlation Coefficients									
	White					Indian				
	Upper School		Lower School			Upper School		Lower School		All West Indians
Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys		Girls	Boys	Girls		
Mental/Manual labour			0.39				0.37			0.32
Immediate/Deferred Rewards			0.31				0.41		0.38	0.34
Pro/Anti Work	0.38		0.37						0.39	0.34
Pro/Anti School Curriculum		0.35								0.34
Racialist Attitudes		0.41								0.35
Unemployment perceived as threat to career. (Questionnaire Item 20.4)		0.38				0.32				
Amount of leisure time spent with family. (Questionnaire Item 30)									0.34	0.46
Conformity/Non Conformity with adult approved behaviour in leisure time. (Questionnaire Item 23.3.4.)									0.30	0.38

aspirations for their children, as measured by product moment correlations. Again, due most probably to the heterogeneous nature of the sample, there were virtually no correlations for the sample as a whole. However, there were a greater number of correlations for sub-samples of the population than are reported in Diagram (23). These were single correlations with variables not listed in this diagram, most of them only just above the 0.30 level. There was limited value in reporting a list which did not contribute to the identification of patterns of relationships.

Some of the correlations reported in Diagram (23) were worthy of comment. The fact that white boys tended to anti-work attitudes the lower were their parents' career aspirations for them was apparent from the dialogues developed with low aspiring white males. Some of them who had no confidence in their career prospects did not look forward to their impending struggle in the world of work, particularly older boys. Material rewards had a strong influence on their attitudes and some were bent on avoiding hard work, or 'graft' as they called it. One group of five fifth year boys, with whom a long period of discussion was held, appeared dedicated to avoiding the hard work that their fathers had to do and expressed strongly a lack of respect for their fathers, which arose from the heavy work the fathers had to do. The tentative suggestion put to them by the investigator that there might be some 'pride' in being able to do heavy labour was greeted with derision. Neither this group nor any other individuals indicated that, like Willis' lads, they saw any status in hard manual labour.

Diagram (23) does illustrate that Indian youngsters showed a pattern of behaviour of identity with the family in leisure time which correlated with parents' career aspirations. Discussions with these pupils showed that some older ones were sensitive to the fact that they had moved away from the influence of parents. There was evidence of stress within some families, caused partly by the youngster wanting to make their own career decisions. One example of this was a few Indian boys who did not want to work in their father's shop or other form of business.

The overall picture from Diagram (23) did not indicate any consistent pattern of interrelationships across the various sub-samples.

There were three other variables measured which connected with the home background. One was perceptions of parents' influence on how leisure time was spent (Questionnaire Item 23. 3rd question): this variable was not very rewarding. The second was a measure of how much leisure time was spent with the family (Item 30). This measure correlated with White/Non-White (0.38), suggesting that white respondents spent less of their leisure time with their families. For West Indians, correlations with this variable fell neatly in a 'Conformist/Non-Conformist' pattern, though the correlations were low, (Diagram 24). The last variable in the list in this diagram (Conformity in Job Preferences) has not yet been mentioned and had no influence on Job Aspirations. Its structure owes something to P. Willis, with preferences for a secure job, a job with good chances of promotion for hard work and a job that people respect, all being taken to be conformist

DIAGRAM 24AMOUNT OF LEISURE TIME SPENT WITH FAMILY : CORRELATIONS WITH  
CAREER RELATED VARIABLES : WEST INDIAN SUB-SAMPLE

Career Related Variable	Pearson Correlation Coefficient
	Amount of leisure time spent with family (West Indians)
Mental/Manual work preference	0.44
Deferred/Immediate rewards	0.35
Attitude to teenagers engaged in crime and vandalism	0.31
Racialism	0.38
Conformity/Non-conformity in job preferences (Questionnaire Item 27)	0.33

attitudes. Non-Conformist preferences are for a job where you can relax a bit and have a laugh; a job with high wages and friendly colleagues. Scores on the six items constituted a single measure, henceforward called Conformist/Non-Conformist Job Preference.

Indian girls who spent more time at home showed, like West Indians, a conformist pattern of related career attitudes; they expected to get higher status jobs (0.40), preferred mental to manual work (0.36) and opted for deferred rather than immediate material rewards (0.36). No patterns emerged for any other subgroup of the sample.

The evidence presented on the relationships between the amount of time spent with the family and conformist/non-conformist attitudes ties up with threads which ran through the dialogues and discussions with pupils. The non-white respondents did appear to be more identified with the family, though the West Indians perhaps less so than the others. Perhaps cultural inheritances play a part. White working class youth is probably more independent of the home from an earlier age. They are less controlled by rigid cultural patterns, which impose both a self discipline and a willingness to accept the discipline of parents. The fact that career attitudes of Indian boys did not seem to be influenced by the amount of leisure time spent with their families could be related to the fact that Asian boys gain more freedom in their middle teenage years due to the dominance of the male within the family unit.

The final variable to be reported which arose in the family

background measured perceived parents' interest in child's achievement (career and academic). According to the dialogues with pupils, this variable, in part, can be taken to be a measure of parental pressure.

The correlation between the variable and Pro/Anti School Curriculum and Pro/Anti School Values was the most consistent relationship measured between career related variables. Correlations above 0.30 were recorded for many breakdowns of the sample, the highest being with Pro/Anti School Curriculum for Low Stream Indian girls (0.52). Therefore, low parental pressures to achieve were responsible for anti attitudes to school values and formal curriculum for, at least, a large minority of the sample.

Parental pressure did not correlate with parents' job status aspirations for their children, except for Lower School boys (0.34), but this is easily explained. As has been seen, 197 respondents could not name the job their parents wanted for them, but just over three quarters of these 197 did indicate that their parents wanted them to get high qualifications and, in place of naming a job their parents wanted for them, a number wrote that their parents wanted them to 'do well'. Thus, parents' pressure may be a general wish for their children to achieve, not for them to get a particular job.

Summarising the influence of forces arising within the home environment on career related attitudes held, there was a network of statistical relationships. It was an entangled network, here impossible to report in its totality and difficult to report to

the extent attempted due to the fact that the variables arising within the home had some effect across almost all the spectrum of career related attitudes measured. Many of the correlations were low, establishing relationships for not much more than 10% of the populations, but this should not be unexpected. Apart from the fact that this was a heterogeneous sample, all youngsters are, from the home, subject to a wide range of experiences and cultural forces which to various degrees influence most of their attitudes held to the world of work. The extent of the influence could also relate to unmeasured personality variables, a suspicion stimulated by the possible intervention of individual personality differences in the Mismatch variable.

Overall, it would appear that, for this particular sample of youngsters, the home environment had a great influence on career attitudes. The dominant variable was parents' job status aspirations for their children, which seemed to be a predictor of a wide range of career attitudes held.

West Indian youngsters seemed particularly influenced by the size of structure of the family in which they lived and also by the status of their fathers' job and whether or not father was unemployed. Large families and low job status of father were associated with anti-school, anti-social and anti-work attitudes.

The statistical evidence suggested that the career attitudes of white youngsters were little influenced by family size and structure and parents' job status. Indian respondents tended to hold career attitudes conducive to them ending up in low status



jobs and to oppose the school's formal curriculum if their fathers were unemployed (and vice versa ), but the notable feature of the influence of parents' job status, for Indians, was the influence of mothers' job status, an influence unique to this group. Low status mothers' jobs and if she worked as opposed to being a housewife, had similar influences on respondents' career attitudes to low status fathers' jobs, but the influence was much stronger.

Non-white youngsters appeared to be more identified with their families and the more time West Indians and Indian girls spent with their families in leisure time, the more conformist were their attitudes to school and society in general. Such conformity was also apparent for a large minority of the sample the higher was the pressure of parents upon them to achieve at school and in their careers.

(ii) The Role of the School

In the context of this study, the important issues arising from the analysis of previous research (Chapter II.2.i.b) are here paraphrased and simplified; the main problem is the extent to which career aspirations and other career attitudes are determined by the facts or perceptions of academic potential and attainment or by forces arising outside the environment of the school. A body of previous research has appeared to have established that when the school is perceived, by some youngsters, to be unable to offer them assets that are valuable for success in the world of work, namely, in the main, qualifications, then these youngsters develop attitudes which are opposed to the school's curriculum and value structure. There is an assumption in this interpretation that the youngsters relate academic success to success in the world of work, but it has been suggested by the evidence presented that many of the youngsters in the sample studied did not think they would require formal qualifications for the jobs to which they aspired. However, this evidence would be contradicted if it could be shown that anti-school attitudes were determined to any great extent by career related variables, particularly job aspirations and expectations.

A series of stepwise regression analyses were, therefore, carried out, with Pro/Anti School Curriculum and Values as the dependent variables, but before these are reported, some limitations must be stated on the extent to which any conclusions drawn can be regarded as valid or reliable evidence. In the first place,

no tests of internal consistency for the measure of Pro/Anti School Curriculum and Pro/Anti School Values produced high enough correlations for the two measures in order that they might be used as a group 'anti-school' variable. This separate identity of pro/anti school values and curriculum is, perhaps, understandable; for example, an academically motivated pupil could identify with the school's values but object to the subjects they studied and the way those subjects were taught. Most previous research studies have either found contrary evidence or assumed that those youngsters who opposed the school's curriculum also opposed its value structure (and vice versa).

Further, it is apparent that the questionnaire technique has limitations as a means of measuring aspects of cultural patterns within the school.

Diagrams (25) and (26) show stepwise regressions for all boys and girls in the sample, with Pro/Anti School Curriculum and Values as the dependent variables. It is clear from these tables that prediction was low, the maximum percentage of change predictable being 36% for males (Pro/Anti School Curriculum).

It appeared from these diagrams that changes in pro/anti school attitudes stemmed mainly from variables which arose in the school and the home and not from attitudes to work and career.

It must here be noted that the statistical evidence already accumulated in Chapter V.(2) has suggested that variables arising within the school had a negligible influence on job status aspirations. Only in two instances, from all the stepwise regression

DIAGRAM 25

STEPWISE REGRESSION - PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN PRO/ANTI SCHOOL CURRICULUM

ATTITUDES

(Males and Females)

All Males

All Females

36%

3.5%

Leisure spent with friends .024  
 Attitude to crime & vandalism .008  
 Size of family .004  
 Qualifications obstacle - .000  
 Parents interest-school work - 3% .000

Qualifications obstacle - .031  
 Mental/Manual labour - 2% .009  
 Academic ability - 4% .000  
 - Self rating -

Pro/Anti School values - 10% .000

Parents interest in school work - 9% .000

Academic ability - self rating - 19% .000

Pro/Anti School Values 19% .000

DIAGRAM 26

STEPWISE REGRESSION - PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN PRO/ANTI SCHOOL VALUES

ATTITUDES

(Males and Females)

All Males

All Females

28%

27%

Parents interest in school work	.034
Leisure time spent with friends	.012
Academic ability-self rating	2% .005
Attitude to crime & vandalism	2% .004
Sexism	3% .000

Attitude to crime & vandalism	2% .024
Qualifications obstacle	2% .004
Racialism	4% .002

Pro/Anti School Curriculum	19% .000
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Pro/Anti School Curriculum	19% .000
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analyses with job status aspirations as the dependent variable, did school orientated variables have any influence on change. These were the 6% influence of qualifications perceived as an obstacle to getting job wanted for Lower School Indian Girls and the 2% influence of self-rating of ability at school work for Upper School Boys. All other variables causing change in job status aspirations arose within the family or were related to job characteristics.

Thus, the evidence suggested that there was no cause-effect relationship between career aspirations and pro/anti school attitudes; the former tended to be determined by the home environment and the nature and characteristics of the work aspired to and the latter by forces which arose from within the school itself.

Possible explanations for this interpretation come from the statistical evidence and from the discussions with pupils. Many of these working class youngsters did not see their career prospects in terms of qualifications because they did not perceive that they would require qualifications for the jobs they wanted. Most of the youngsters have been seen to be aiming for 'working class' careers and even many of the skilled jobs were perceived, often quite correctly, not to demand formal qualifications.

Anti-school attitudes did not seem to stem from frustrated career ambitions, but, as Diagrams (25) and (26) suggest, from perceptions of the school itself and from a general tendency to non-conformity. Discussions with the pupils indicated that the

sources of opposition to the school curriculum, particularly for the older pupils, but including many third year pupils, were boredom in the classroom and lack of interest in certain subjects. In group discussions, these themes often tended to dominate and the suggestion that some of the curriculum had to be covered in the interests of future career was often countered by arguments which indicated that it was the 'here-and-now' that really mattered. As one fourth year white girl put it :-

"It's all right you talking about four or five years from now .... I'm going to be a hairdresser and I could start on the job now. If I have to have two more years of being fed up in this place to get the job I'd rather do something else .... anyway they keep telling me to work at the C.S.E..... I'd look right daft handing in my little certificate at the salon with history and things like that on it."

The flaw in this overall interpretation of the relationships between career aspirations and pro/anti school attitudes appeared to be that 305 (35%) of the sample mentioned qualifications as an obstacle to getting the job wanted and this was the only career orientated variable listed in the stepwise regressions (Diagrams 25 and 26), though its influence was very small. However, there may be an explanation.

It has already been seen that there was pressure from these working class parents for their children to 'do well' at school, but that neither the parents nor the children, in the main, were aware of the qualifications required for particular job status

levels. It could be argued that the pressure was of a general nature and qualifications were only vaguely related to parents' job aspirations for their children and the children's own aspirations. There was no hard and calculated relationship, such as Ashton argued for. Again, it has been seen that school stream was not a discriminator between levels of job aspiration and that the percentage of pupils in each school year, aspiring to each job status level, did not change. The inference is, then, that qualifications as an obstacle to getting the job wanted was more of a school orientated rather than a career related variable. Pupils saw that they might have difficulty in getting qualifications but their aspirations did not fall off. The inference could be doubted if qualifications seen as an obstacle to job aspirations became more strongly perceived as the youngsters progressed through the school, but except, perhaps, as has been seen, for white girls, this was not the case, as Diagram (27) shows.

In summary, the evidence points to the tendency to be for the school to have a limited influence on career attitudes. The working class pupils as a whole in this sample did not lower aspirations and change career attitudes due to mediating influences within the school. In general terms, they were sensitive to whether they would get qualifications or not, but did not tend to relate their job needs, closely or calculatedly, with the qualifications they were likely to get. Pro and anti school attitudes seemed to arise, not so much from perceptions of what the school could offer for them in their career, but from their



DIAGRAM 27

TABLE : QUALIFICATIONS SEEN AS AN OBSTACLE TO GETTING JOB  
ASPIRED TO - BY SCHOOL YEAR

School Year	Qualifications seen as Obstacle to Job Aspiration				Total Number
	Mentioned		Not Mentioned		
	No	%	No	%	
1	25	42.4	34	57.6	59
2	61	36.3	107	63.7	168
3	75	34.7	141	65.3	216
4	66	33.0	134	67.0	200
5	78	35.2	143	64.8	221
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>35.3</b>	<b>559</b>	<b>64.7</b>	<b>864</b>

perceptions of the school itself and a general tendency to conformity or non-conformity.

A fifth year white boy's attitude was, perhaps, typical of a number of his colleagues. He said that he was going to be a plumber and would start as a plumber's mate. He might have to look around but he was pretty sure he would get this work. He hoped to get his C.S.E. passes and his parents wanted him to, but he was doubtful of success. He did not like school work and being treated like a young kid by teachers who were not 'with it'.

It is notable that the Mismatch variable, that is whether or not respondents expected to get the job they wanted, had no influence on anti school curriculum and values attitudes. It has also been established that qualifications as an obstacle to getting a job had virtually no influence on job aspirations and that those respondents who named qualifications as an obstacle were not, in the main, the same people who did not expect to get the job they wanted. Further, there was no realistic relationship between job aspiration level and qualifications named as being necessary for that job level, nor between the job named as the parents' aspiration for child and the qualifications parents wanted for their child. Parents wanted their children to 'do well' and this was expressed in terms of 'doing well' at school by getting qualifications, but there was no firm relationship of getting particular qualifications for particular jobs. In fact, most of the sample would not get formal qualifications.

Adding the statistical evidence, in particular the fact that qualification variables cannot overlap in the regression programmes, with Mismatch, it is justifiable to state that this variable was not a measure of the extent to which respondents perceived they would be successful in gaining qualifications. Aspirants to higher status jobs did not expect to get those jobs because they perceived that they would get qualifications, nor did low aspirants see themselves as failing to get the jobs they wanted because they would not get qualifications.

Nothing would be added to the evidence presented on the sources of pro/anti school attitudes by detailed reporting of product moment correlations since, as in previous evidence presented, the stepwise regression programmes identified the variables which formed the strongest interrelationships. A few differences, however, amongst sub-samples were interesting.

It has already been seen that parental pressure to achieve influenced anti-school attitudes (Chapter V.4.i).

The stepwise regressions run for girls, with Pro/Anti School Values as the dependent variable, showed that racist attitudes accounted for 8% of change for Upper School white girls, confirming previous evidence that this group has comparatively strong racist feelings (Pearson Correlation 0.44). For older white boys racism did not enter the stepwise regression equation.

For Upper School boys, sexist attitudes (Questionnaire Item 23, first and second questions) contributed to a 6% change in Pro/Anti school values (Pearson Correlation 0.40); attitudes

which were not revealed in dialogues with pupils.

The group whose Pro/Anti school curriculum attitudes were most predictable were West Indians, with the differences between them and other sub-groups being that variables arising in the family were much more influential . Parental interest in school work accounted for 14% of change, amount of time spent at home or going out with parents 11% and number of siblings 6%.

(iii) Peer Group Influences

As has been stated, a detailed study of friendship groups within the sample (Questionnaire Items 32 and 33) was intended to be a separate research project.

The influence of friends on job aspirations has not been found to be strong. On only one stepwise regression programme was any peer related variable found to have influence; Upper School Indian boys' job aspirations changed (5%) according to the perceived influence that friends had on their choice of job (Item 26, question 2). The fact that this variable had little overall influence was clear from the simple frequency response to the question. If some critics of rating scale questionnaires are right, there is a tendency to respond to the positive, in this case 'Strongly Agree' or 'Agree' that friends had influence on job choice. In fact, the responses were strongly skewed towards the negative (Skewness - 0.502), with 341 respondents (40.0%) disagreeing and 173 (20.3%) strongly disagreeing.

Dialogues with pupils strongly confirmed that they perceived their friends to have little or no influence on their job choice, with the exceptions of a small group of Older Indian boys and a fifth year group of white boys who expected to get unskilled jobs, for which a grapevine of vacancies existed.

This evidence did not preclude the possibility of friendship groups like Willis' lads existing, but it would seem that they would certainly not be larger groups than Willis' twelve and that there would not be many of such groups.

Thus, in the absence of a detailed study of the friendship groups which exist within the sample and from the perceptions of respondents that they did not think that their friends had any great influence on their choice of jobs, this study can offer very limited evidence for the influence of friends on career attitudes. However, the variable which measured the extent to which respondents thought that their friends were interested in the same sort of work (Questionnaire Item 28, 1) did correlate with a group of career and school orientated variables. This could suggest that friends could have a limited influence on the characteristics or nature of the work in which some respondents were interested, if not on job status aspiration level and also on their attitudes to school. The greater was the perception that friends had the same sort of work interests, the more likely were some respondents to hold non-conformist attitudes to work and school (Diagram 28).

The fact that the sub-samples in Diagram (28) were almost entirely confined to the Upper School may be explained by the fact that discussions with younger pupils suggested that they did not often discuss their future career with their friends.

In summary, there was little evidence to show that friends had any great influence on career attitudes. What limited evidence there was tends to suggest that the influence of friends was small.

DIAGRAM 28

PERCEIVED SIMILARITY OF CAREER INTERESTS WITH FRIENDS : CORRELATIONS WITH

CAREER RELATED VARIABLES

Career Related Variable	Sub-Sample	Pearson Correlation Coefficient Perceived Similarity of Career Interests with Friends
Mental/Manual Labour	Upper School White Boys	0.32
	Upper School Indian Boys	0.39
Immediate/Deferred Rewards	Upper School White Boys	0.33
	Upper School Indian Girls	0.38
Pro/Anti School Curriculum	Upper School White Girls	0.40
Pro/Anti School Values	West Indians	0.34
	Upper School White Girls	0.38

(iv) The Influence of Factors Within the Labour Market

It has already been suggested (Chapter V.3.iii) that many of the working class youngsters might have been more concerned with working conditions rather than job status. The variable that was statistically most important relating to working conditions was the mental/manual labour preference. One origin of this variable was the concept of P. Willis that some youngsters opt for unskilled jobs because they see status and pride in being able to cope with heavy manual labour, but there was no evidence, either statistically or from dialogues with pupils, that such attitudes were held. In fact, the evidence suggested that heavy work, 'hard grafting' to use the youngsters' terminology, had no benefits and was to be avoided.

In many stepwise regression programmes, the mental/manual variable was a factor affecting change in job aspirations. The percentage influence on change never rose above 6% :-

Upper School Girls	6%
Upper School Indian Girls	6%
Upper School White Girls	5%
All Upper School Boys (Indian and White both 5%)	5%
Lower School Indian Girls	4%

It has already been suggested that Asian girls were most sensitive to the low status of some manual jobs and that the mental/manual issue became a matter of more serious concern for pupils for whom entry into the world of work was becoming closer.

Product moment correlations between mental/manual labour



preferences and Job Aspirations confirmed what was suggested from the stepwise regressions; that is that the youngsters were concerned with whether they would be doing mental or manual work. Diagram (29) shows that there were a number of correlations between the mental/manual work variable and variables relating to work characteristics and factors within the labour market.

Of the other variables measured which related to characteristics of work, the Immediate/Deferred rewards variable had a comparatively strong influence. This variable was a measure of the preference for either skilled jobs which require training and offer security but low wages, or semi and unskilled jobs offering immediate higher wages but little training and no security. This variable had particular relevance for Upper School girls, especially Indian girls, for whom it also explained 7% of change in job aspirations.

A partial explanation could be the nature of the jobs aspired to by some of the girls, such as nursing and secretarial work; these jobs require very specific skills. Some Upper School white girls who wanted immediate rewards held racist attitudes (0.32) and they and Lower School Indian girls who wanted immediate rewards were more worried by the threat of unemployment (0.34 and 0.38).

The variable measuring Conformity/Non-Conformity in job characteristics preferred (Item 27) had no influence on job aspirations or expectations. For those respondents classified as Conformist, the item 'a safe and steady job' was the main choice of the six characteristics listed; in fact, 56% (472) of the whole sample listed this item as a first or second choice. The leading Non-Conformist choice was 'high wages' with 34% (292) of the sample making the item a first or second choice.

DIAGRAM 29

MENTAL/MANUAL WORK PREFERENCE : CORRELATIONS WITH CAREER RELATED VARIABLES

Career Related Variable	Sub-Sample	Pearson Correlation Coefficient Mental/Manual Works Preference
Extent to which unemployment would make it hard to get job wanted	West Indians	0.38
Unemployment an obstacle to getting job wanted	Upper School White Boys	0.35
Extent of worry about unemployment	Upper School White Boys	0.31
	Upper School Indian Girls	0.38
Pro/Anti Work Attitudes	West Indians	0.34
	Upper School White Girls	0.37
Immediate/Deferred Rewards	Indian Girls	0.36
	Senior School White Girls	0.36
Perceived ability of different races to get on together	West Indians	0.38
	Upper School White Girls	0.34

Whilst this variable did not influence job aspirations, it nevertheless tended to tie up with a number of career related attitudes and there were thirteen correlations over the 0.30 level with a range of career related variables. The strongest were with Immediate/Deferred Rewards and worry about unemployment. These correlations added nothing new to the patterns of interrelationships by sex or ethnic group, nor to the pattern of Conformity/Non-Conformity relating to conditions and characteristics of work.

Only two sub-groups were identified as holding pro or anti work attitudes which interrelated to any extent with other career related attitudes held. West Indians and Upper School white girls who were anti-work tended to expect frequent job changes (0.40 and 0.35); also West Indians tended to feel that unemployment would make it hard for them to get a job (0.38) and Upper School Girls worried about unemployment (0.41).

Perceptions of whether or not respondents expected to change their job during their working life have been seen to be a factor causing change in the job aspirations of Indian girls (3%). For Lower School Indian girls, the influence on change was 8% compared with 3% for lower school white girls. Why job changing is influential for girls and particularly in the Lower School is not clear, except that in discussions low aspiring girls did seem to assume that they would not stay in one job for a long period of time and this was not because of marriage prospects. The phrase 'you move around' if a better prospect appears seemed to sum up the attitude of some. Boys gave an impression of job permanency. The 'frequency of job changing' variable fell into the pattern of, for

want of a better term, conformity/non-conformity of work conditions and characteristics preferred. The conformists tended to opt for mental work, deferred rewards, security and less job changing; also they were more inclined to believe that most people enjoyed their work and they worried less about unemployment. However, the pattern of interrelations of attitudes and preferences was complicated. It was not possible to divide the various sub-samples into a simple conformist/non-conformist division.

Unemployment can be said to have had a strong influence on career thinking, if only on the grounds that, in response to the open-ended question asking what is likely to prevent you getting the job you want (Item 19), 274 (32%) respondents specifically mentioned unemployment in one way or another, usually in terms of no jobs available or too many people wanting the job.

The most significant fact concerning perceptions of unemployment was that Upper School white girls were a unique group in the extent to which they saw unemployment as an obstacle to them getting a job. This variable accounted for 13% of change in their job aspirations. The dialogues with pupils showed that fifth year girls in particular were very much concerned with unemployment. Lower School girls' job aspirations also changed according to their worries about unemployment (3% Item 20, question 5), but for all white girls, unemployment seen as an obstacle to getting job wanted only had a 2% influence on change. Why unemployment played such a comparatively greater role in older white girls' career thinking is difficult to explain; it could have been due to purely local conditions in the labour market. Product moment correlations confirm the evidence and give some clues

to their attitudes. Upper School white girls saw unemployment as an obstacle to them getting job wanted if their father was unemployed (0.31) and if their mother had a low status job (0.38). As they worried more about unemployment they tended to hold anti-work attitudes (0.41) and to be more likely to think that they would change their jobs frequently (0.35).

Older white boys were far less concerned about unemployment, according to the statistical evidence and this was confirmed by discussions with them. A state of cautious optimism appeared to prevail. Nevertheless, unemployment was a recognised and considered fact across all the sub-samples and variables measured relating to unemployment correlated with a wide range of other variables measured. These correlations for West Indians and Indians are shown in Diagram (30).

In summary, perceptions of the world of work appeared to have a strong influence on the youngsters' career attitudes. There was concern with the nature and characteristics of work, but the attitudes held did not fall into a simple so-called 'conformist/non-conformist' pattern, such as the career orientated and careerless youngsters identified by D. N. Ashton. Interrelations were complicated.

Unemployment also had a considerable influence on career attitudes, but again, simple patterns were not easily identifiable. However, all sub-groups of the sample seemed to be affected except older white boys. Yet older white girls were, perhaps, more threatened by the possibility of not getting a job than any other

DIAGRAM 30

ATTITUDES TO UNEMPLOYMENT : CORRELATIONS WITH CAREER RELATED VARIABLES : WEST INDIANS AND INDIANS

Career Related Variable	Sub-Sample	Pearson Correlation Coefficient		
		Extent to which Unemployment would make it hard to get job wanted	Unemployment seen as obstacle to getting job wanted	Extent of worry about Unemployment
Extent of parents' interest in career	West Indians	-	-	0.39
	Lower School Indian Girls	0.31	-	-
Extent to which people of different races are perceived to get on together	West Indians	-	0.37	0.38
	Upper School Indian Boys	0.39	-	-
Pro/Anti School Values	West Indians	0.30	-	0.31
Mothers' Job Status	Upper School Indian Boys	0.32	-	-
	Mid-Stream Indian Girls	0.35	-	-
Number of Siblings	Lower School Indian Girls	0.35	0.34	-
Amount of leisure time spent with family	Lower School Indian Boys	-	-	0.38
	Lower School Indian Girls	-	-	0.36

sub-group.

The fact that the job aspirations of these Upper School white girls have been seen to change (13% stepwise regression; Diagram 18) according to whether they saw unemployment as a threat, led to the possibility that the Mismatch variable could be a measure of the threat of unemployment, in spite of the fact that this unemployment variable only occurred in one stepwise regression programme. Therefore, the variable was omitted from the programme, but it was not replaced in the hierarchy of choice by Mismatch, the influence of which remained virtually the same. Since also no variable measuring attitudes to unemployment discriminated between those who expected to get the job they wanted and those who did not, Mismatch was most unlikely to be a measure of attitudes to unemployment. The original hypothesis that the Mismatch variable is a measure of a personality trait or traits is, therefore, retained and it now seems clear that it could not be an overlap measure of any other variable used in this study. Nor can any other unmeasured variable be suggested.

(v) Racialism

Apart from the statistical problems of measuring racialist attitudes (Chapter IV.6.ii), there were further limitations on the validity of findings.

Firstly, as Allen and Smith point out (1974. 002), some members of ethnic minorities may be reluctant to admit to sensitivity to racial discrimination due to 'threats to personal and social identity'.

Secondly, in many schools, there are hidden pressures on pupils to avoid discussion on racial issues.

Nevertheless, these issues were apparent and it is suggested that the influence of racialism on career related attitudes was stronger than the statistical evidence showed, in that dialogues with individual pupils, if not with groups, indicated that many non-white youngsters perceived that there was racial discrimination in the job market.

In response to the question asking what is likely to prevent the respondents getting the job they wanted, forty members of the ethnic minorities (11%) mentioned their racial origin in one form or another. Replies ranged from the brief 'I'm Pakistani' to longer explanations of why white people got the jobs. Six respondents mentioned the National Front. Six white respondents, including four fifth year girls, mentioned race in their responses, the theme being the 'blacks' being in competition for jobs.

An unexpected feature of the evidence was that white girls appeared more racialist than boys.

Stepwise regressions with Pro/Anti school values as the dependent variable established that racialist attitudes accounted



for 4% of change for all girls and 8% for Upper School white girls, the Pearson Correlation for the latter group being 0.44. This sub-group also tended to hold racist attitudes the fewer parents they had living with them (0.48); the more they preferred immediate to deferred rewards (0.32) and the more they opted for manual work (0.34).

West Indians who tended to believe people of different races did not get on well together were likely to have parents with lower job status aspirations for their children (0.44); parents who were less interested in their children's career (0.41) and were likely to prefer manual to mental work (0.38).

Indian boys who believed that people of different races did not get on well together tended to have mothers with low status jobs (0.38) and Indian Upper school boys to perceive that unemployment would make it hard for them to get the job they wanted (0.39).

Like Indian boys, Indian girls showed a correlation between status of mothers' job and ability of different races to get on together (0.36). This racist measure also correlated with parental pressure (0.58) for Indian girls in general and also for Mid-Stream Indian Girls (0.51) and Lower School Indian Girls (0.39). Upper School Indian girls thought people of different races were less likely to get on together if their mother was working (0.43).

Racism, then, did appear to have a limited influence on career attitudes and racist attitudes were inexplicably stronger amongst girls, particularly older white girls, whose anti-school values attitudes were influenced by racist tendencies. The most

intriguing evidence was that racist attitudes correlated with a range of home orientated variables, suggesting that racist thinking stemmed from the structure of the family, parents' work and parental pressure to achieve.

(vi) Sexism

The justifications for the inclusion of sexism as a variable affecting career attitudes were firstly, the evidence of P. Willis (1977, 124) that his lads, who were bent on unskilled labour, held sexist attitudes which were related to their pride in heavy masculine labour as opposed to light or mental work, which was 'cissy' and effeminate. Secondly, it was possible that sexist variables might discriminate between sub-samples of males and females according to the strength of their sexist feelings.

The statistical evidence showed that sexist attitudes had virtually no influence on job aspirations and career attitudes. That sexist attitudes exist was clear from discussions with pupils, particularly in that many girls had absorbed some of the teachings of the women's 'lib' movement and that young working class males still felt strongly that the male should be dominant in the home.

Sexist attitudes held by boys did cause change in boys' attitudes to school values (Stepwise regression; 3% for all males and 6% for Upper School males), but no regression programme run with job aspirations as the dependent variable selected the sexist variable. However, the virtual absence of product moment correlations, throughout the many programmes analysed, with career attitudinal variables, rendered the variable almost redundant.

(vii) Summary : Sources of Career Attitudes

The home environment was suggested as the dominant source of the career attitudes measured. As parents' job status aspirations for their children was outstanding as the main influence on their children's job aspirations, so parents' aspirations and interest in child's career affected a wide range of career attitudes. The work their parents did, or did not do, was also a strong predictor of career attitudes, though less so for the white youngsters in the sample. Though the size and structure of the family had, perhaps, less influence than the work parents did, the influence was wide ranging over a large number of career attitude variables and had a varying effect across the sub-samples of the population. Generally, there was some support for other researches which have established that large families tended to produce anti-school, anti-social and anti-conformist career pattern attitudes. Similar attitudes were produced if less leisure time was spent with the family rather than with peers.

The measured influence of the school on career attitudes was very limited and these working class children did not appear to change very much either their job aspirations or their career attitudes as they progressed through the school. This rigidity did not seem to stimulate anti-school curriculum and anti-school values, a process established by many previous researches to be due to the facts or perceptions of academic inferiority. Where anti-school attitudes existed, they arose, not from career attitudes, but from variables more directly related to the school environment and from

general socially non-conformist attitudes. In brief, the working class youngsters, in a sense, appeared to separate the world of the school from the world of work. Many of them perceived that they would not require qualifications for the job they wanted and they were often right, even for some skilled jobs. It was true that some saw lack of qualifications as an obstacle to career success, mainly because their parents pressurised them to get qualifications. However, this pressure was of a general nature to 'do well'; probably most of the parents and certainly most of the pupils, especially the younger pupils, were not aware of the relationships between levels of job status and the qualifications relating to these varied levels. Thus the school had a limited mediating influence on career attitudes which arose in the home.

Peer groups did not exert any significant influence on job aspirations, except for a small influence for older Indian boys, but they did influence career attitudes relating to the nature and characteristics of the work preferred. Where peer influences were seen to be small, the tendencies were for preferences for security in work, less manual work and a stable and generally 'conformist' career pattern. Peer groups also influenced pro/anti school attitudes.

Conditions within the labour market and perceptions of work characteristics and conditions were a matter of concern and interest to the youngsters, often, as has been previously suggested, of more concern than the actual status of jobs, but there was no simple pattern which might separate, as Ashton did, career motivated and careerless youngsters. Unemployment had a considerable influence

on career attitudes, affecting all sub-groups of the sample, in a variety of ways, but particularly older white girls who were the most threatened by fears of not being able to get a job.

Racialist attitudes and perceptions of discrimination were apparent amongst the young people and the methods of measurement probably erred in under-estimating their importance. White girls seemed to hold stronger racialist attitudes than boys, particularly older girls. For girls, racialist attitudes tended to contribute towards opposition to the values structure of the school. Generally, racialism did have a limited effect on career attitudes and an incidental finding was interesting, namely that racialist attitudes, in the main, arose in the home environment.

Sexist attitudes were related to small changes in the pro/anti school values variable for boys, but had virtually no influence on career related attitudes.

The home remained, then, the dominant source of both job status aspirations and attitudes to career and the world of work.

CHAPTER VICONCLUSIONS(1) INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

This Chapter follows, as far as is possible, the pattern of presentation of the Hypothetical Models and Aims set out in Chapter III (2).

(a) The Home and Its Environment as a Source of Career Attitudes

This study has not compared youngsters from families of differing levels of social status; on the evidence alone of the status levels of the work that parents did, it was justifiable to assume that this sample was from a working class background.

The main finding of the investigation was that the home dominated as the determinant of job aspirations and career attitudes, confirming the evidence reported from earlier research in Britain, but placing a much greater emphasis on the home, compared, in particular with the school and also with peer groups and forces within the labour market.

The outstanding influence from the home, for both sexes, for all ethnic groups except West Indians, was the career aspirations, that parents had for their children. Parents' aspirations also influenced a wide range of attitudes held to career and the world of work. In terms of career attitudes held, the sample was found to be heterogeneous, so that the career related attitudes derived from parents' aspirations changed for the various sub-samples; but overall, the dichotomy has been termed Conformist/Non-Conformist. By conformist is meant regarded as worthwhile according to the values of most teachers, educationalists and workers in the field of

careers guidance. Thus, when parents' aspirations for their childrens' career were higher and also their interest in career and school work was perceived to be greater, the tendency was for youngsters to prefer mental to manual work; to seek training and security in preference to immediate high material rewards; to not expect frequent job changing in their career; to seek a job that people respected and a job with prospects of advancement; also to hold pro-school attitudes.

Other factors from within the home environment had, collectively, pronounced influences which again varied according to the various sub-groups within the sample.

One of these factors was the qualifications parents wanted their children to get, though this was generally expressed in the form of whether or not the parents wanted the children to get formal qualifications; there was no relationship with the level of parents' job aspiration for children, which suggested that parents were unaware of what qualifications were required for particular jobs.

Another significant home orientated variable was size and structure of family, which had a limited but consistent influence, over a number of sub-samples, on job aspirations. Large family groups living together and specifically the number of siblings were associated with non-conformist career attitudes, as already defined; with less parental interest perceived in career; anti-school and sometimes racialist attitudes. The same was true for one or no parent families. Size and structure of family had the strongest influence on the career attitudes of West Indians.



The status of parents' jobs and whether fathers were employed or not had as strong an influence and a similar influence to size of family, but with two differences. White youngsters were less influenced in their career attitudes, probably because they appeared to see their parents' jobs in terms of wage levels and conditions of work, whilst non-whites were more sensitive to the status of parents' jobs. Indian pupils were more affected than any other group by the status of mother's job and whether or not mother was a full time housewife.

The extent to which the youngsters perceived that their parents were interested in their career and the amount of leisure time spent with the family compared with peers were also established to be predictor variables. Overall, the pattern of the influence was generally that which might be expected from studies of previous research, except for the dominance of parents' aspirations for their children as a predictor of career attitudes.

Dialogues with the pupils strongly confirmed the influence of parents, with fathers' and mothers' attitudes a constant focal point of reference. It would appear that ethnographers, in order to shed light on the processes through which career attitudes are acquired, will have to infiltrate the family circle. The dialogues with pupils gave some interesting insights however. White parents were seen to talk of their work in terms of the actual work done, how hard it was, how long the hours were and what were the rewards: Asian parents were concerned with comparative status of the work and their own status in the work situation.

Even though this study has not compared working class and middle class youngsters, nevertheless contributions can be made to knowledge of the influence of social status of the family on job status attainment and to some theoretical concepts relating to social class mobility. At this stage of interpretation, all that can be said is that the working class youngsters in the sample wanted working class jobs. They may shun unskilled labour (only 31, or 3.5% of them wanted it), but, if those two aforementioned ladders from the working class to advancement, namely teaching and nursing, are ignored, only 74 (8.5%) of the youngsters aspired to jobs above the skilled class. Nor were their parents much more ambitious for them, and it was these ambitions that, in the main, determined the youngsters' job aspirations.

Accepting Goldthorpe's evidence (1978, 053) that, in the past 40 years there has been an increase in upward mobility opportunities through 'a relatively sharp expansion of ... the service class and a contraction of numbers in the working class', then the group of young people in this sample will have to be 'allocated' to the higher status work open to them; it would not be a matter of choice, since they do not aspire to such work.

(b) The Influence of Career Attitudes Inherited from the Home on Pro/Anti School Attitudes

The issues taken up here are in the context of the current sociological debate reviewed in Chapter II (2.i.a.); that is whether or not the working class youngster is culturally deprived and the extent to which working class career attitudes can be explained in terms of social class origin and cultural deprivation. The questions

that were discussed from previous studies were whether low career aspirations of working class youngsters stem from the richness of working class cultures and the need to retain them (Entwhistle, 1978. 039), or from an individualistic balance of 'subjective expectation with objective possibility' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977. 013), or from the screening and selection processes of the school (Hargreaves, Lacey etc. 1967. 059. 1970. 078).

It is a fact that the sample studied had low career aspirations and that there was strong evidence to suggest that career attitudes arose in the cultural and experiential background of the home. Further, the evidence was adequate to claim that the youngsters studied did not change their career aspirations and expectations as they progressed through the school, though a longitudinal study would be more conclusive. It might appear that Entwhistle is right; working class careers are a vital facet of working class culture and, in the context of the world of work, cultural forms which are worthwhile to their holders are retained in spite of the school. It might, therefore, be expected that the pressures to achieve from the school would be countered by anti-school attitudes. This, however, was not the case in this study; the statistical evidence found little relationship between career orientated variables and anti-school attitudes, which appeared to stem from attitudes to the school itself and general attitudes of non-conformity with the school, adults and society in general.

Tentatively, it would appear that there was no clear vindication of the theories of any particular writer in the field, but clearly a closer study is necessary of the evidence for the influence of the school on career attitudes.

(c) The Influence of the School on Career Attitudes

As there was no statistical evidence to confirm that pro/anti-school attitudes were a product of stimulated or thwarted career aspirations and attitudes, so there was scant evidence to suggest that experiential and societal elements, taken up from the school environment, operated to change career aspirations and attitudes, which, as has been stated, did not seem to change much throughout school life.

There was further evidence. In particular, school stream was not a variable that had any real influence on job aspirations, whatever the age of the pupil. This was rather remarkable and it has been suggested that the particular school studied might have been exceptional in this context due to the lack of significant variance in the academic potential of the less able two-thirds of the school. In this case the 'Half our Future' of the Newsom Report of 1963 could read 'Two-Thirds of Our Future'. However, it is relevant that, apart from Ashton's study (1973. 004) previous studies that have found attitudinal differences by stream have compared 'working class' streams with top, or 'middle class' streams.

Nor was there any difference by stream in self perceptions of academic ability, in pro/anti-school attitudes or in perceptions of qualifications as an obstacle to getting the job wanted.

Perceptions of the need for qualifications for career success was crucial to the interpretation of findings in the context of sociological theories of cultural deprivation and the role of the school because about 30% of the sample opted for qualifications as a

limiting factor on career prospects. Also this variable was the only school orientated variable that had any influence, albeit a small influence, on job aspirations. It would, therefore, seem that the school curriculum should have had more influence on career attitudes than was apparent from the total of statistical evidence. There is a probable explanation.

Nearly all these working class youngsters perceived that their parents wanted them to do well at school and it is known that the influence of parents was strong. When asked to indicate what qualifications their parents wanted them to get, most youngsters opted for the highest qualifications, including 'O' and 'A' Level, including nearly 200 who could not name an actual job that their parents wanted them to get. The general theme that parents wanted the respondents to 'do well' at school was consistently repeated throughout the dialogues with pupils. However, neither parents nor pupils, both in the upper but particularly in the lower school, tended to relate qualification levels to job status levels. Probably most parents and certainly most pupils up to fourth year had little knowledge of the structure of the formal examination system or even, sometimes, the ages at which examinations are taken. The calculated and informed relationship between skilled jobs and formal examination success, which was part of the 'frame of reference' of Ashton's (1973. 004) middle stream pupils, did not exist in this school; Ashton's thesis is rejected. Again, it is necessary to put this study in the context of previous research which has compared the career attitudes of middle and working class pupils. Middle class parents and pupils are better informed of the interrelationships between qualification levels

and job status levels. In arguing that working class youngsters are demotivated by perceptions of potential failure and develop anti-school attitudes, the assumption may have been made that these youngsters are aware of how that failure would prevent them getting the jobs they wanted. Most of the youngsters in this sample did not see qualifications as required for the jobs they wanted anyway, but they wanted to 'do well' at school, especially because their parents wanted this. Thus, the youngsters were concerned with qualifications; they saw them as 'a good thing to have' but they did not lower their job aspirations because of fears or facts of academic failure. They were not as worried by this threat to the extent that Hargreaves, Lacey and Stinchcombe might have assumed they would be.

Thus, career attitudes and job aspirations tended to arise in the home, but the school did not lower aspirations and lowered aspirations did not stimulate anti-school attitudes. These arose from disenchantment with the school curriculum itself; for example, they may have perceived school work to be boring; also from a rejection of the school's value structure which was associated with general attitudes of non-conformity with the values of adults and society in general.

The heterogeneity of the sample must again be stressed; there were exceptions to these findings. There were those pupils who were aware of the qualifications needed for some apprenticeships, though many of these do not now need qualifications; also for some specific jobs such as nursing and teaching. Factors arising within the

school did have a very limited influence on job aspirations; this was mainly for girls and particularly for younger Indian girls, who saw qualifications as an obstacle to their career ambitions. Upper school white girls' opposition to the formal school curriculum had some relationship with fears for their career prospects.

(d) Critical Periods for Changes of Career Attitudes

Given that job aspirations and the extent to which qualifications were seen as an obstacle to aspirations hardly changed throughout the five years of school life studied, it was justifiable to assume that critical periods for changes in career attitudes did not exist for the youngsters as a whole. What evidence there was for change of attitudes pointed, as might be expected, to the beginning of the fourth year when courses for C.S.E. begin in earnest. Some pupils began to lose the confidence they have that they would get the job they wanted and fears of unemployment grew.

In fact, the immunity of the older pupils to pressures relating to career was rather remarkable. White girls were an exception, mainly because of fears of unemployment, but white boys seemed reasonably optimistic for their future. Discussions with older pupils tended to move towards the actual work they might be doing and other conditions and characteristics of their prospective employment, including the actual place of work. The fact is that the majority of the older pupils in the sample would not take public examinations.

(e) Career Aspirations and Expectations

Since job aspirations and expectations did not appear to fall off as the youngsters progressed through the school, there was no evidence to suggest a relationship between reduced career prospects

and educational and career attitudes. Indeed, the relationship between job aspirations and expectations was, at first sight, extraordinary in that those with lower aspirations tended to be less hopeful of getting the job they wanted. To some extent this was not so strange in that many in the sample did not perceive that they would require qualifications for the job wanted and the insignificant fall in expectations for some older pupils, mainly white girls, was more due to the threat of unemployment than to fears of examination failure.

Dialogues with pupils and written responses to the questions on job and also work expectations led to the construction of a variable discriminating between those who expected to get the job they wanted and those who did not and it was confirmed that this variable was unrelated to any school or career orientated variables which might have been determinants. It has, therefore, been taken to be a personality variable, but what personality trait it was measuring is not easily defined. The only positive evidence came from the dialogues with pupils; the variable seemed to be a general measure of confidence or optimism for the future, particularly for future career. The variable was, therefore, termed confidence/no confidence and it proved to be the second most important variable affecting job aspirations. For West Indians, it was the dominant variable and only for older white girls did it appear to have virtually no influence.

The implication is that sociological forces alone cannot explain career aspirations and attitudes and that psychologists still have much to contribute towards individual differences amongst young



people which affect attitudes to the world of work.

Further evidence, from fantasy job choices, suggested that psychological factors are influential, though the value of this evidence was limited because of the small number of fantasy choices made. Fantasy choices declined as the pupils got older, giving some support to the Ginsberg school of developmental theorists who have claimed that a fantasy period changes to a realistic phase in the context of job choice during the teenage period. However, so small were the number of fantasy jobs aspired to that it was suggested that the realistic stage comes earlier for British children compared with Americans, confirming the evidence of Chown (1958. 026).

The fact that psychologically orientated forces can operate to stimulate career ambition could explain why some working class children are able to escape from so-called deprived environments which condemn the rest, if condemn is the right word, to working class careers.

(f) Peer Group Influences on Job Aspirations

The youngsters perceived the influence of friends on their job choices to be negligible. The statistical evidence found that only the job status aspirations of older Indian boys were influenced by perceptions of their friends affecting their job choice; even in this case the influence was small. Dialogues with pupils also suggested that friends had a very limited influence on job choice. Further study is proposed on the friendship groups identified by the questionnaire, which may give

greater insights into the extent to which career attitudes contribute to homogeneity within specific friendship groups.

Friends did have some limited influence on certain attitudes held. Anti-school attitudes tended to develop for some pupils when friends were seen to hold similar career attitudes, particularly for West Indians, and so did non-conformist attitudes to job characteristics. These characteristics were preferences for manual as opposed to mental work, jobs offering immediate rewards and less concern with security in a job.

Clearly, specific work is wanted in this country on the role of career prospects as a cohesive force in the identity of peer groups which are problems due to their deviant behaviour inside and outside school. Cohen, in America, (1977. 028) might be right in saying that peer group influence on vocational aspirations has been consistently overestimated. Perhaps the concentration of British researchers on the relationship between deviant anti-social and anti-school behaviour and educational aspirations has led to an assumption that thwarted vocational aspirations are a factor in the equation. For some working class children, aiming for working class jobs which require little or nothing in the form of qualifications, they do not want much from the school as far as their career is concerned. Their peer group identity may come from other sources.

(g) Youngsters' Perceptions of the Labour Market

The youngsters studied were concerned with the conditions under which they would work and with the characteristics of the

jobs they would do; these concerns were more important to some than the actual status of the job. This study has, perhaps, taken too little cognisance of this aspect of career attitudes and the consistent interest in working conditions, which was shown in the dialogues with the youngsters, is probably underestimated by the statistical evidence.

Nevertheless, it has been established that whether the respondents want manual or mental work had a consistent influence on job aspirations across the range of sub-samples studied, even though this influence was never dominant in deciding job aspiration level. Those who opted for manual work did not want unskilled labour, since only 3.5% of the sample wanted unskilled jobs. In discussions, those who opted for manual work did not emphasise the wish for manual work; their attitude tended to be negative in that they did not want mental, or 'brain' work. All the evidence points to the fact that groups of boys like Willis' lads, who see pride and status in heavy manual work, could only exist in very small numbers. Some aspirants to semi-skilled jobs emphasised, in discussions, the fact that the manual work involved was light.

The mental/manual labour variable highlights a crucial need for future research in Britain into the distinctions between unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled work and the allocation of social status attached to these distinctions. The brief visits to industry made in the course of this investigation indicated blurred distinctions between semi, unskilled and skilled workers which seem to fit into the national background of concern over eroded pay

differentials and the decline in status of the skilled worker. Yet at other levels the real differences in status levels for working class jobs appear to be ignored: for example, studies of social and occupational class mobility could seem unrelated to conditions in the labour market. Some unskilled workers earn more than skilled workers and consequently could be seen, at least to some workers, to have an ambiguous status. The O.P.C.S. classification used in this study was found to be unrelated to the real world of the youngsters in the sample and to the situation in the labour market, in that all shop and office workers are classed as skilled. Some of the youngsters in the sample seemed more aware of the realities of status and rewards in the labour market than researchers or government institutions. They knew that jobs classed as skilled could be obtained without qualifications, that many unskilled and semi-skilled jobs were comparatively highly paid and saw status as sometimes being related to the nature of the work rather than the label given to the job.

Most of the youngsters opted for skilled or semi-skilled jobs and their job choices were surprisingly limited in range, with only ten actual jobs named for jobs aspired to accounting for 56% of the sample. The jobs named reflected the nature of local industry.

Returning to variables relating to job characteristics, immediate/deferred rewards, security/high wages in first job and expected frequency of job changing; all interrelated for various sub-groups of the sample without producing a coherent overall

pattern. However, the job aspirations of older Indian girls changed according to whether they opted for immediate or deferred rewards in their first job and some West Indians and older white girls held anti-work attitudes.

Unemployment was the dominant factor within the labour market affecting career attitudes. Pupils from all years worried about unemployment and thought it would affect their career prospects. Girls were more concerned with the prospective problems of unemployment than boys, even younger girls, but for older white girls the difficulties unemployment might make in their job prospects had a comparatively great influence on their job aspirations. For many sub-samples, variables measuring attitudes to unemployment were associated with variables arising in the home environment, including parents' job status and size of family, extent of parental pressure to achieve at school and work and of amount of leisure time spent with the family compared with peers. Thus, fear of unemployment arose mainly within the family and this was particularly so for Indian youngsters. Some West Indians were threatened by unemployment which tended, for them, to produce opposition to the school's value structure and racialist attitudes; on the other hand, some also seemed unrealistically optimistic for their career, in view of the local higher unemployment rate for West Indians. Similar optimism was stronger amongst older white boys who were the group least threatened by the possibility of not getting a job.

Given the fears of unemployment amongst the youngsters and the

facts of unemployment, it could be argued that government expenditure on job creation schemes is justified to avoid social problems which must increase if jobs become more difficult to get. Reaction of the youngsters to these schemes was not known, because except in fifth year, they knew little of them.

It might be considered too naive, too reactionary and too subjective to suggest a return to some form of vocationally orientated curricula, in the light of the pupils limited perceptions of some aspects of the labour market. Yet the evidence presented indicated that, for some of these youngsters, there was a tendency to divorce the world of work from the world of school; the school had nothing to offer then in the work context, not necessarily because they would not achieve academically, but in that the school was not widening their career visions. They wanted to do well at school; their parents wanted this, but the youngsters aimed for a narrow range of working class jobs, confined generally to the local industries and services. These were also the jobs their parents wanted for them. If, as the social and occupational mobility theorists say, there is a growing range of wider opportunities available, then the schools could embark on programmes aimed at enlightenment. Rejection may follow, due to the needs of retaining worthwhile facets of local working class culture, but at least choices would have been presented. Rapid technological change, including micro computers and the advent of more leisure, can only be coped with by youngsters from attitudes transmitted from the home, if the home is as influential as this study found. The problem is similar to that in the third world (II.3.1 . Sinclair 1977. 108), where even simpler technological

advances are problems due to conservative attitudes and values held in the home environment. As in the third world, the school must take a wider role upon itself.

(h) Sex and Sexism as Discriminators of Job Aspirations and Career Attitudes

The main differences between the job aspiration levels of males and females were that more girls aspired to O.P.C.S. Class (2) jobs than boys and this was simply explained by the exact difference in numbers being the number of aspiring nurses, a Class (2) occupation: also girls nominated more semi-skilled jobs, the difference being the number of girls wanting shop and office jobs. The balance was effected by larger numbers of boys wanting skilled jobs.

What is considered to be a most significant finding for the study as a whole was concerned with sex differences, though not with differences in career attitudes. It was that girls attitudes were more predictable than those of boys. This finding was consistent throughout the statistical analysis. The only explanation that can be suggested is that the cultural inheritances of girls are more limiting and restrictive due, in part, to their future roles of wife and mother and the more limited career opportunities open to them, or perceived as being open to them. Girls also may be more mature than boys of their own age and thus more capable of expressing themselves. This finding does not emerge from previous research studies, but very few researchers have studied girls.

As far as the dominant determinants of job aspirations are concerned, there were no differences between boys and girls; parents' aspirations for their children was the most important

influence for both.

There were differences in career attitudes generally, but it must be recognised that the differences reported were suspect because it was easier to predict girls attitudes. Nevertheless, it appeared that girls were more influenced by the family environment and by parents' attitudes. Peer groups had no greater influence on the career attitudes of boys. The evidence that girls were more influenced by so-called 'conformist/non-conformist' attitudes to work (mental or manual labour; immediate or deferred rewards; perceptions of whether or not they will change job frequently; high wages or security and training) may have been due to the greater predictability of their attitudes.

There is no doubt, however, that unemployment was a greater threat to girls, particularly older white girls and this is difficult to understand. Dialogues with pupils confirmed the fact, but provided no explanation. Perceptions of unemployment affected a far wider range of girls career attitudes.

Sexist attitudes existed in the sample and males felt that, in the home, the male should dominate. However, sexist attitudes were not a component of any career attitudes as they were for Willis' lads and had no influence on job status aspirations. For males, sexist attitudes were connected with anti-school values.

(1) Ethnic Origin and Racialist Attitudes as Discriminators of Job Aspirations and Career Attitudes

The only significant difference in job aspiration levels by ethnic origin was that Indians and Pakistanis tend to be a little more ambitious. In fact, the determinants of job aspirations of



white and Indian pupils were not so different. West Indians, however, were in many ways, a unique group; for them the main determinant was the Mismatch variable. Individual dialogues were developed with a comparatively large number of West Indians and they were a striking example of the distinction between confidence, or lack of it, in their future career. They appeared to be at one extreme or the other; some optimistic, happy-go-lucky, eager to enter work and earn money and the others pessimistic, despondent, disgruntled and with no prospects of getting the job they wanted. Parent aspirations for their career had no influence on the job aspirations of the West Indians: this alone made them unique, though they were influenced by the qualifications parents wanted them to get. They were also the only group whose job aspirations were influenced by anti-work attitudes and a few of them clearly did not intend to work. The statistical evidence that some held racialist attitudes, that is did not believe that people of different races get on together, was not as great as the dialogues suggested, but this racialist variable correlated with a number of career attitudinal variables. Overall, West Indians, unlike any other racial group or sub-group, had career attitudes that form a reasonably coherent pattern. The less identity there was with the family, in particular the less leisure time was spent with the family, and the more was spent with peers, the more were 'non-conformist' job attitudes held, the more were racialist, anti-social and anti-school attitudes present and the more unemployment was perceived as a threat.

The career attitudes of Indian girls were the most predictable

and those of Indian boys the least predictable of all the sub-samples studied. The only explanation that has been offered was that they come from different geographical regions of India and Africa, speak different languages and have different religions. Their cultural inheritances may have been less changed by the imposition of a conflicting Western culture; certainly the career attitudes of Indian girls had a greater identity with their white counterparts. The Indian girls seemed to speak with a greater maturity of their career problems and were much concerned with the conditions of work and the characteristics of the jobs they would do. The influence of mothers' job status had an important influence on the attitudes of both Indian boys and girls. The girls were strongly influenced by parents.

White boys at the top of the school were the most confident group in their perceptions of career prospects. They worried less about unemployment and the school curriculum, whereas older white girls' career attitudes had a network of relationships, of which unemployment fears were a dominant factor. For some of these girls variables arising within the family and the threat of unemployment tended to produce anti-work and racialist attitudes.

Racialist attitudes correlated with a limited number of career attitudinal variables, most of which arose in the home, tending to suggest that racialist attitudes stemmed from the home. Girls, particularly older girls, were much more influenced by racialist attitudes in their career thinking; why is not apparent.

The 10% of coloured pupils who perceived that racial dis-

crimination might reduce their job prospects (Allen and Smith, 1977. 002) a decade ago has apparently not increased, but the form of arriving at the information was different. Also none of the respondents had suffered discrimination in the jobs market. Perhaps their parents had and racist problems were part of the dialogue about careers in the home. Perhaps Allen was right and racist attitudes are not recognised due to the fact that they are a threat to personal and social identity. The strongest expressions came from fifth year white girls. Perhaps the emphasis by the media on boys has obscured the racist attitudes of girls.

(j) Guidelines for Government and Educational Planning

The conclusions reached suggest some general proposals for future policy.

The interpretation that followed (Section (g) above) from the evidence that unemployment was a threat to the youngsters has indicated that, given the economic fact of unemployment amongst young workers, it might be dangerous to cut resources to job creation schemes, as the present government has already started to do (June 1979).

Also in Section (g) it was suggested that the role of the school in vocational education might change. It appears that, if working class youngsters can gain nothing in a career sense from the academic purposes of the school, because the jobs they want are not geared to academic success as is assumed by many, it does not necessarily follow that they develop anti-school attitudes and

deviant behaviour. It is possible that sociologists, in studying deviant behaviour, have overemphasised its extent. The youngsters, on the whole, tried to 'do well' at school, mainly because there was a general pressure from parents to do so and parents have been proved to have a great influence on them. Another factor was psychologically orientated; many of the youngsters were generally hopeful for their future and had a general need to achieve.

Given this interpretation and the fact that anti-school attitudes, in part, arise from pressures within the school itself, the school can itself go some way towards preventing the problems of deviancy within its own walls. By way of example, if the youngsters in the school studied enjoy woodwork, which they do, it is suggested that it is inconceivable that the main reason for their enjoyment is they see ability at carpentry and design as a career asset. Perhaps they enjoy being creative; certainly they like a change from what they call 'brain' work. The implication is that deviant behaviour arises, in part, from anti-school curriculum attitudes caused by forces from within the curriculum itself and not necessarily from perceptions that the curriculum is irrelevant to career success. Thus the school could have some of the solutions in its own hands.

In the school studied there was deviant behaviour and opposition to the curriculum and the school's values, but the problems appeared fewer than in many schools with a similar working class intake. From the evidence gathered of the limited career ambitions of the sample and their limited academic potential, the researches of many sociologists in this field would predict a blackboard jungle and they would be wrong.

Where so-called 'blackboard jungles' exist, it is possible that the school must change both its curriculum and its values and one area that has been suggested is in the field of career enlightenment. If, as social and occupational mobility theorists are claiming, there are and have been growing opportunities for upward mobility for these youngsters and a wider range of opportunities in the service industries, then a running dialogue in the classroom context would appear worthwhile. Even if these opportunities are not there and unemployment increases, there are benefits to be obtained from the school giving insights into the conditions, nature and social environment of different jobs, if only to counter the very limited range of career interests of the youngsters. This does not mean an expansion of the 'careers guidance' curriculum and very limited work experience schemes of many schools, but a dialogue which crosses subject boundaries. Some of the youngsters have nous and knowledge of subtleties concerning how to operate in the world of work, as has been shown; there could be a two way traffic of enlightenment for teachers.

These concepts relating to the school curriculum could also incorporate developments which must take place in educating working class youngsters to the greater leisure they will enjoy in the future from the advent of micro-computers and other technological advances.

(k) Insights into a Theory of Occupational Choice or Allocation

This study offers no theory of occupational choice and little insight into the development of such a theory. Previous theories, or more correctly, attempts to conceptualise theories, have been

psychologically or sociologically based; concern being either with the individual or macro-collective theories. P. Willis, developing his movement towards a theory of how the working class condemn themselves to exploitation and the drudgery of heavy labour under capitalism (1978. 125), explained the fact that one or two of his twelve lads did avoid this drudgery by saying that there were 'bound to be one or two exceptions' to the collective inevitability. The question that arises is, for Willis' theory, or any collective theory, the point at which the number of exceptions to the theoretical rule invalidate the theory. This study suggests that individual motivation and confidence in future prospects could influence the career thinking of enough youngsters to suggest that the decline in research interest in psychologically based theories is unfortunate and that no overall sociological theory of occupational choice or allocation will be able to explain future placement within the labour market, particularly given the changes in that market which have been seen to be taking place, or will take place in the future.

S. Allen (1968. 001) stated that sociological theories must take cognisance of the social and economic structures in which they operate, but if those structures are changing at an ever increasing rate, no all-embracing theory may ever be possible.

It is understandable that academics gave up the search for an overall sociological theory of occupational choice in the late 1960s. However, the situation is not totally pessimistic. The quotation from S. Allen (1968. 001) on the first page of this study suggested that an ever increasing list of variables relating to

the attitudes, behaviour and problems in the work situation of adolescents, with no attempt to interrelate these variables, brings us no nearer to explaining the relative significance of the determinants of these attitudes and behaviour. Since 1968, more sophisticated statistical methodology has provided one means of progress to give, if nothing else, greater factual knowledge and understanding of the problems.

(2) SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

The main conclusions reached in the study are herewith summarised :-

- (i) The main determinant of the job status aspirations of the youngsters was the job status level which their parents wanted for them.
- (ii) Variables linked to the home dominated as determinants of job aspirations and career attitudes, exerting a far greater influence than measured variables linked to the school, peer groups and labour market.
- (iii) In order of importance, the factors within the home that had most influence on the structuring of career attitudes were the status of jobs that parents wanted for their children, the size and make-up of the family group living together and parents' own occupational status.
- (iv) A strong influence on job aspirations, for most of the youngsters, appeared to be a personality variable; a measure of confidence or optimism for their future prospects in the world of work.
- (v) The school had a very limited influence on job status aspiration levels, which were virtually the same for each of the five school years studied. Job status aspirations also did not change according to whether the pupils were middle or low stream.
- (vi) Career aspirations and attitudes which arose from the home environment did not generally tend to stimulate attitudes which opposed or supported the school's values and formal curriculum structures. Most of the youngsters did not perceive that academic success or failure would affect their career aspirations, because



most of them aspired to jobs which did not, or were perceived not, to require formal qualifications; however, those who did not develop anti-school attitudes did not do so because they saw qualifications as valuable in a general sense and not related to specific jobs aspired to. Such perceptions of qualifications tended to stem from parents who wanted their children to do well at school, but who, like their children, were generally uninformed on the relationships between levels of job status and the qualifications required for them.

(vii) Anti-school attitudes tended to be correlated with variables associated with the school itself; that is from the nature of the formal curriculum and value structure of the school and also from general conformist or non-conformist attitudes to adult values and society as a whole.

(viii) Peer groups and friends were perceived to have little influence on job aspirations, though they had a limited influence on career attitudes which were concerned with the nature and characteristics of the work involved in certain jobs.

(ix) The youngsters were concerned with the conditions under which they would work and with the characteristics and nature of the work. They were generally not ambitious in their job aspirations and the vast majority of them wanted working class jobs, skilled or semi-skilled. They tended, however, to shun unskilled work. The jobs to which they aspired strongly reflected the jobs available in the local area in which the youngsters lived.

(x) Unemployment was perceived as a threat to many pupils and was a source of worry to pupils of all sexes, ages and ethnic groups

and affected many of their attitudes to the world of work. Girls tended to be more threatened by unemployment than boys, particularly older white girls, for whom the threat was a comparatively important influence on their career aspirations.

(xi) Girls' career aspirations and attitudes were more predictable than those of boys, but there was no great sex difference between levels of job aspirations. Boys did tend to opt for jobs in the skilled category, balanced by girls opting for nursing, a higher status job, and semi-skilled office and shop work.

There were also no significant differences in the main determinants of job status aspirations of boys and girls. Girls' career attitudes were more influenced by variables arising within the family environment and the nature of the actual work they might do.

(xii) Sexist attitudes existed amongst the youngsters and the working class male still believed he should dominate the home. However, sexist attitudes did not influence career attitudes.

(xiii) Ethnic origin was not a source of discrimination between levels of job aspiration, except that Asians tended to be slightly more ambitious. West Indians were a unique group, in that they seemed to divide into an optimistic, confident and eager to work personality group and a disgruntled, pessimistic, even introverted group. This division affected their job aspirations and expectations and their career attitudes in general, the latter group tending to be non-conformist, anti-work and sensitive to racialist attitudes.

(xiv) Indian girls' career aspirations were highly predictable

and very similar to those of white girls, whereas Indian boys were the least predictable group studied. Both Indian boys and girls were strongly influenced in their career attitudes by the work their mothers did. There was a pronounced difference in the career attitudes of older white girls and boys, the latter being more confident of their career prospects and less threatened by unemployment. The older white girls were the group most threatened by unemployment, a threat which related to anti-work and racialist attitudes held by some of them. Sources of these attitudes tended to arise in the home.

(xv) Racialist attitudes held had a limited influence on career attitudes; their strongest effect was amongst West Indians and older white girls. The extent of this racialist influence does not appear to have changed in the past decade, but measurement is difficult. Racialist attitudes tended to be associated with variables linked to the home.

### (3) THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS IN PERSPECTIVE

This has been a study of a single school; a small scale study restricted to a sample of working class pupils and at a specific short period of time. Therefore, few insights are offered into the dynamics of large scale change associated with economic conditions and the job market, or into the cultural processes and interactions related to entry into the world of work. An underlying assumption of the methodology was that cultural and other forces could be seen as discrete variables which act on individuals and which can be explained by questionnaire techniques. However, given these limitations, it may be instructive to suggest how this micro study may throw light on and relate to macro sociological theories of education with the hope that some of the findings may have points of contact with macro theories, particularly in relation to cultural reproduction and deprivation.

In the 1950s and 1960s some Functionalist and Human Capital theorists rejected traditional psychological concepts of a limited reserve of educable talent and the economic demands for technological advance linked with political egalitarian ideals in a search for ways of tapping the pools of unused talent. One outcome could be seen to be the development of comprehensive schools, like the one studied in this project. Dispute continues on the extent to which these schools have widened educational and career opportunities, but much less debated is the question of whether or not the ability to augment the stock of human resources is dependent, not only on the reserves of talent available, but also on the extent to which the

possessors of this undeveloped talent are prepared to take advantage of any greater educational opportunities offered to them, for example as visualised by the Robbins Report of 1963. This present study has suggested that there are young people who, from the cultural inheritances of their working class origins and more particularly from their close family environment, do not have the cultural capital to take advantage of widening higher education opportunities, even if they had the appropriate talents. Put simply, they are not ambitious; their career horizons are restricted to working class jobs and they do not wish to achieve higher social status via qualifications which lead to higher status careers. Why they do not is a question to which this study can offer only a tentative explanation, but it would appear that their families, which are the dominant determinant of the young people's career attitudes, are a restricted environment whose cultural resources are too specific to see into the world of work which exists beyond their own locality and beyond the range of jobs within their own practical experience. Whilst the parents are eager for their children to 'do well' in their careers, these parents, from their own limited experiences and cultural inhibitions, do not have the capacity to provide a vision of higher status work and the life associated with it, achieved through educational success. The parents, through a variety of articulations and symbolic systems, do appear to be able to pass on to their children insights into the realities of working class jobs, in the form of working conditions and the social and material characteristics of a range of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. To some of the young people studied, these

characteristics of their future work are more influential, in structuring their career attitudes, than concepts of ambition and status. Thus is emphasised a weakness of the Functionalist and Human Capital theorists, namely an emphasis on the supply side of the educational opportunities equation, but only an assumption that an ever increasing demand for these wider opportunities existed.

Some early sociological theories which were concerned with cultural regeneration and which owed something to anthropological origins, saw a harmony between learning processes arising from pedagogical activity carried out within the family and the school, which was at the heart of the cultural heritage of the society as a whole. This harmony has been re-emphasised in different form, with the revival in the late 1960s of so-called 'conflict' theories of education. Neo-Marxist theorists saw as crucial the institutional triumvirate of home schools and also, in particular, place of work as the sources of intergenerational reproduction of social inequalities and class conflict. The workplace was perceived to be the dominant source, with family and school uniting to reinforce inequalities arising in job status.

Nevertheless, from Marxist origins, conflict theorists see educational systems as vital in the context of the class struggle. Bowles and Gintis, in particular, emphasise the real purpose of educational institutions under capitalism as not the teaching of skills, but of differential processes of socialisation by social class, producing class linked inequality of academic success which reinforces inequalities within the production process.

It would appear possible to fit the findings of this study into the theoretical framework of conflict theory. More particularly, a Neo-Weberian structure would initially seem to be the most appropriate, since the study has not attempted to analyse the range of causal variables used within a Neo-Marxist, class based framework. The Neo-Weberian theoretical structure allows flexibility to utilise a range of variables, including sex and race, at the same level of potential explanatory significance as class. Recently there have been similar specific attempts to utilise Weberian theory, such as the work of John Rex in the context of race relations.

Whilst the design of this study fits more conformally into a Weberian theoretical context, it could be argued that the findings are more compatible with some Neo-Marxist concepts. It is not difficult to rationalise the dominant influence, found in the study of the home on the youngsters working class career attitudes and aspirations, with the Neo-Marxist emphasis on the workplace as the ultimate source of the social division of labour. Parents are the vital influence on the career attitudes of the youngsters, whose aspirations are generally confined to the type and status of jobs in which their parents are engaged. Moreover, the importance attached by the young people to job conditions and the nature and characteristics of various types of work could all be transmissions, via parents, from sub-cultures of the shop floor and other working class labour environments. Bowles and Gintis' view of the school as a place which sustains values and personality traits stemming from the shop floor and transmitted through the family, is relatable to the attitudes held by the pupils studied. These lower

stream working class youngsters retained their low aspirations for working class jobs throughout their school life and the school did not stimulate them to an interest in academic success. Dialogues with the pupils have suggested that part of the explanation for their job interests being limited to the local job market was simply ignorance and perochialism; the school did little to counter these limitations.

It could be argued that Marxist theorists have paid too little attention to the content of the educational system and cannot explain clearly the relationship between class reproduction and differing levels of academic attainment. Macro sociological theorists have concentrated what they perceive the schools role to be, not on how the schools' values structure and curriculum operate to achieve their purposes. These and other areas are now being studied in a reaction to macro approaches; the so-called 'new' sociology of education. Researchers are using ethnographic and interaction techniques to study the internal operations of schools and the sources of identity of sub-culture groups. Willis' lads are such a group and some of Willis' concepts have been seen to be relevant to the interpretation of evidence found in this study. In particular, something akin to his notion of 'partial penetration' could be used to add enlightenment to some of the dialogues with testees, and some of the attitudes held, as indicated by these dialogues, could contribute to Willis' theory of labour power regeneration. From parents and others the youngsters internalised concepts of the world of work. Some of this knowledge was factual, some was a straightforward reflection of the experience and attitudes of others, such as parents, who were



working, but there was also limited evidence to suggest that some of the young people manipulated and transformed the information coming through to them. For examples: some Asian girls were more aware than their parents of the structure of the job status hierarchy and more aware of the social restrictions which would limit their opportunities in that hierarchy; some Indian boys did not see the status of shopkeeping and jobs in commerce from the perspective of their parents; some white and West Indian boys rejected onerous unskilled labour and lack of respect for parents involved in it was converted into anti-work attitudes. How these transformations of information took place is not known; on the basis of the evidence produced, peer groups may have little influence. However, it is clear that within the context of all sociological theories mentioned, the role of the home and the social interaction within it is but dimly understood and needs the attention of future researchers. All this study can say with confidence is that youngsters of different sex and ethnic origin internalise the information about the world of work which they pick up from the home by differing processes and often draw differing conclusions from similar information.

(4) SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this project point to a number of directions which future research in the field could take; the following list indicates a subjective view of the most important of these :

- (i) The school studied may be different from other apparently similar schools in that, inter alia, the intake appeared to contain a greater proportion of pupils who are less able academically in proportion to the school population in general. This was suggested by, in particular, the lack of academic and attitudinal differences between the middle and lower streams. A similar study should, therefore, be conducted in a school of similar size in a similar area.
- (ii) The fact that the home environment may be a dominant determinant of career attitudes suggests that researchers using ethnographic methodologies will need to penetrate cultural interaction within the family in order to explain processes governing entry into the labour market.
- (iii) The Questionnaire Items which asked for nominations of friends at school and outside school, will be used by the researcher of this study in a future research project. The main purpose will be to measure the extent to which career related attitudes are a component in peer group homogeneity.
- (iv) The extent to which racist attitudes and the threats posed by racist attitudes, are factors affecting the career attitudes of young people is knowledge which is vital to educationalists, researchers and workers in the field of community relations. Such information is difficult to obtain and liaison with Local Education

Authorities and other institutions is needed in order to enable research in these areas to proceed.

(v) Evidence has emerged from this study that many working class youngsters were much concerned with the conditions of work of the jobs in which they were interested, including whether or not the job is clean or dirty, the hours and shifts involved, noise levels; the immediate working environment and the social context of this environment. Their attitudes may have suggested that status level is less important than the quality of the working life. This study failed to take up these issues which should be put within the context of further work in this field.

(vi) There is a critical need to relate the realities of the differing levels of job status in industry to the job status levels used by researchers and government departments, since there are clear differences between the two. Five years ago the Department of Education and Science (1974. 033) recognised that it could not define criteria for distinguishing between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers and the O.P.C.S. classifications used in this study were unrealistic and had to be modified. The most crucial problem is the identification of the skilled worker, since many skilled jobs can be obtained without formal training or qualifications. Classification would not only be an aid to researchers and government departments, but also to solving industrial conflicts arising from status differentials.

(vii) In a period when research into career attitudes and problems of entry into the job market appears to be dominated by sociologists of education, it is suggested that the psychologist and those with

expertise in both disciplines still have much to contribute. Indeed, it could be argued that an important conclusion of this investigation is that the wide range of expertise that has been dedicated throughout this century to the problems of youngsters entering the world of work will need to be augmented in order to tackle these problems in the immediate future.

APPENDIX I

(i)

QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME .....

(1) Sex (tick)            Male .....            Female .....

(2) Class in School .....

(3) School Year .....

(4) Country you were born in .....

(5) Country your father was born in .....

(6) Country your mother was born in .....

(7) Your Family

    (a) Father (if living with you, put tick) .....

    (b) Mother (if living with you, put tick) .....

    (c) Number of brothers living with you .....

    (d) Number of sisters living with you .....

    (e) Others living with your family .....

    .....

    .....

(8) Father's job .....

(9) Say what you can about your father's work. (If he is no longer living, say so).

.....

.....

.....

(10) If your father does not have a job at present, tick here ....

(ii)

(11) Mother's job .....  
(If housewife, say so)

(12) If your mother works, say what you can about her work  
(If she is no longer living, say so)  
.....  
.....  
.....

(13) If your mother works, but does not have a job at present,  
tick here .....

(14) Name the job you hope to get when you leave school.  
.....

(15) Briefly describe the work you think you would be doing in  
this job .....  
.....  
.....

(16) Put a tick against the qualifications or training you think  
you will need to get the job you have named. You may tick  
more than one.

- No special qualifications .....
- Learning while on the job .....
- A short period of training .....
- C.S.E. ....
- 'O' Level .....
- 'A' Level .....

Training or qualification taken after school .....  
- explain briefly .....  
.....

(iii)

- (17) Name the job you actually think you will get when you leave school .....
- (18) Describe the work you would be doing in the job you have just named .....
- (19) What do you think is likely to prevent you getting the job you want? .....
- (20) Put a tick in one of the columns against each statement to show how strongly you feel about the statement.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Most people enjoy their work.					
Most people only work for the wage packet at the end of the week.					
During my working life I expect to change my job many times.					
Unemployment is bound to make it harder for me to get the job I want					
It would worry me if I could not get a job.					
Most school rules are necessary.					
Sometimes other pupils 'playing up' in class prevents me getting on with my work.					

(iv)

(21) Explain the sort of job you think your parents would like you to have .....

.....

.....

(22) Put a tick against the qualifications or training your parents would like you to have. You may tick more than one.

- No special qualifications .....
- Learning while on the job .....
- A short period of training .....
- C.S.E. ....
- 'O' Level .....
- 'A' Level .....
- Training or qualifications taken after school .....
- explain briefly .....
- .....
- .....

(23) Put a tick in one of the columns against each statement to show how strongly you feel about the statement.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
In the home women and men should have an equal say in all decisions.					
In the home women and men should share the housework					
My parents have a good deal of influence on how I spend my leisure time.					
Teachers would not approve of how I spend my leisure time.					



(v)

(24) What mixture of manual (working with hands) and mental (brain) work do you want in your job? Tick one item in the list.

- (a) Nearly all mental work .....
- (b) More mental than manual work .....
- (c) Equal amounts of mental and manual work .....
- (d) More manual than mental work .....
- (e) Nearly all manual work .....

(25) For your first job, what type of job would you prefer? Tick one in each of the following two groups.

- (i) An unskilled job with high wages .....
- Low wages while training for a skilled job .....
- (ii) Not a safe and steady job but with high wages .....
- A low paid but safe and steady job .....

(26) Put a tick in one of the columns against each statement to show how strongly you feel about the statement.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
My parents take a serious interest in my future career					
I shall be influenced by my friends in my choice of job					
At work women should have the same pay as men if they do the same work.					
Most jobs can be done equally well by men and women					
I think I am good at my school work					
I do not blame teenagers who steal from shops					

(vi)

- (27) In your future work, which of the following would be most important to you? Put a 1 against the most important; a 2 against the next most important and a 3 against the next. Leave the rest blank.

A safe and steady job .....

Good chances of promotion for hard work .....

A job that people respect .....

A job where you can relax a bit and have a laugh .....

High wages .....

Friendly people to work with .....

- (28) Put a tick in one of the columns against each statement to show how strongly you feel about the statement.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
My friends are interested in the same sort of work as me.					
I would like my friends at work to be the same sort of people as my friends at school					
Teachers have a right to expect cleanliness and neatness in dress.					
Most teachers' attitudes to conduct and behaviour are out of date.					
People of different races are equally capable in all types of jobs.					
On the whole, people of different races get on well together.					

(vii)

- (29) Put a tick in one of the columns against each statement to show how strongly you feel about the statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Most school work I do will be useful to me in my career					
My parents take a serious interest in how well I do my schoolwork.					
People of different races should have equal opportunities of getting jobs.					

- (30) Every week, how often do you ...?  
Tick in the right column for you.

	Never	1 or 2 Times	3 or 4 Times	5 or 6 Times	More Than 6 Times
Go out on your own					
Go out with one or two friends					
Go out with a gang of friends					
Go out with parents					
Go out with other relatives					
Stay at home					

(31) Put a tick in one of the columns against each statement to show how strongly you feel about the statement.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Most school work is boring					
I try to do well in my school work.					
I do not blame teenagers who break windows and smash things up					

(32) Name the people who you go around with at school. Full names please.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(33) Name the people who you go around with at week-ends and after school. Full names please.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Please tick the names of those people who do not go to this school.

APPENDIX IIJOE ASPIRATIONS - JOBS NAMED BY SCHOOL YEAR

OCCUPATION BY O.P.C.S. CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION NUMBERS		SCHOOL YEAR					TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	5	
I	FARMERS, FORESTERS, FISHERMEN						
	005 Gardener	-	-	-	-	1	1
	006 Forester	-	-	1	-	1	2
	TOTAL	-	-	1	-	2	3
II	MINERS AND QUARRYMEN	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
III	GAS, COKE AND CHEMICAL MAKERS	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV	GLASS AND CERAMICS MAKERS	1	-	-	-	-	1
	TOTAL	1	-	-	-	-	1

OCCUPATION BY O.P.C.S. CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION NUMBERS		SCHOOL YEAR					TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	5	
V	FURNACE, FORGE, FOUNDRY, ROLLING MILL WORKERS						
	018 Furnacemen - metal	-	1	-	1	1	3
	020 Moulders and core makers	-	-	1	-	2	3
	022 Metal making and treatment workers N.E.C.	-	-	2	4	1	7
	023 Fettleers metal dressers	-	2	1	2	2	7
	TOTAL	-	3	4	7	6	20
VI	ELECTRICAL AND ELECTRONIC WORKERS						
	024 Radio (and T.V.) mechanics	1	5	2	2	4	14
	027 Electricians	3	4	10	6	5	28
	TOTAL	4	9	12	8	9	42
VII	ENGINEERING AND ALLIED TRADES WORKERS						
	032 Trainee craftsmen	-	3	5	6	9	23
	034 Steel erectors, riggers	-	-	2	-	1	3
	036 Welders, etc.	-	2	2	1	3	8
	038 Machine tool setters	-	-	1	-	1	2
	039 Machine tool operators	-	1	3	-	2	6
	040 Tool makers	1	-	6	5	4	16
	041 Motor mechanics, auto engineers	5	21	24	20	18	88
	043 Fitters. N.E.C. (Lock- smiths)	-	1	2	1	1	5
	045 Plumbers	-	-	1	-	2	3
	054 Other metal working N.E.C.	2	6	3	5	-	16
	TOTAL	8	34	49	38	41	170

OCCUPATION BY O.P.C.S. CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION NUMBERS		SCHOOL YEAR					TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	5	
VIII WOODWORKERS							
055	Carpenters and joiners	-	5	1	4	2	12
059	Woodworkers, N.E.C.	-	1	-	2	-	3
TOTAL		-	6	1	6	2	15
IX LEATHER WORKERS							
062	Cutters, lasters, sewers etc.	1	11	3	-	3	18
063	Leather product makers N.E.C.	-	-	3	3	5	11
TOTAL		1	11	6	3	8	29
X TEXTILE WORKERS		-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		-	-	-	-	-	-
XI CLOTHING WORKERS							
074	Tailors; dress, light clothing	-	-	-	1	2	3
076	Hand and machine sewers etc.	-	-	1	-	1	2
TOTAL		-	-	1	1	3	5
XII FOOD, DRINK AND TOBACCO WORKERS							
078	Bakers and pastry cooks	-	-	-	2	4	6
081	Food processors N.E.C. - Chef	1	-	3	2	1	7
		-	-	1	4	2	7
TOTAL		1	-	4	8	7	20

OCCUPATION BY O.P.C.S. CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION NUMBERS	SCHOOL YEAR NUMBERS OF JOBS NAMED					
	1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
XIII PAPER AND PRINTING WORKS	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-
XIV MAKERS OF OTHER PRODUCTS						
090 Workers in plastics	-	-	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	-	-	-	2	-	2
XV CONSTRUCTION WORKERS						
093 Bricklayers	-	-	2	4	7	13
098 Construction workers, N.E.C.	-	-	3	5	4	12
TOTAL	-	-	5	9	11	25
XVI PAINTERS AND DECORATORS	-	1	1	1	2	5
TOTAL	-	1	1	1	2	5
XVII DRIVERS OF STATIONARY ENGINES, CRANES, ETC.	-	1	-	1	-	2
TOTAL	-	1	-	1	-	2
XVIII LABOURERS; N.E.C.						
109 Foundries; engineering etc	-	-	1	1	2	4
114 Other	-	1	-	-	2	3
TOTAL	-	1	1	1	4	7



OCCUPATION BY O.P.C.S. CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION NUMBERS		SCHOOL YEAR					TOTAL
		NUMBERS OF JOBS NAMED					
		1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
XIX TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION WORKERS							
118	Drivers, etc. railway engines	1	1	1	1	5	9
120	Drivers of buses, coaches	1	-	4	-	3	8
122	Drivers of road goods vehicles	6	7	11	5	3	32
127	Telephone operators	-	2	-	-	2	4
129	Postmen, mail sorters	-	2	1	1	-	4
134	Lorry drivers' mates	-	-	1	1	2	4
TOTAL		8	12	18	8	15	61
XX WAREHOUSEMEN, STOREKEEPERS, PACKERS, BOTTLERS		-	-	-	2	2	4
TOTAL		-	-	-	2	2	4
XXI CLERICAL WORKERS							
139	Clerks, cashiers (general)	3	10	12	11	22	58
	- Bank clerks	4	5	6	12	8	35
	- Civil Service	1	-	1	-	3	5
141	Typists, shorthand writers, secretaries	2	8	16	12	8	46
TOTAL		10	23	35	35	41	144
XXII SALES WORKERS							
144	Shop salesmen and assistants	2	9	20	16	13	60
145	Roundsmen (Milk)	-	2	1	3	1	7
TOTAL		2	11	21	19	14	67

OCCUPATION BY O.P.C.S. CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION NUMBERS	SCHOOL YEAR NUMBERS OF JOBS NAMED					
	1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
XXIII SERVICE, SPORT AND RECREATION WORKERS						
151 Firemen	2	3	1	-	-	6
152 Police officers and men	2	4	6	7	2	21
160 Waiters and waitresses	-	-	1	1	1	3
164 Maids, etc.	1	-	-	-	1	2
167 Hairdressers, beauticians	-	12	10	3	7	32
172 Service workers N.E.C.						
- Veterinary assistants	1	1	1	2	2	7
- Hotel receptionists	1	2	1	1	8	13
TOTAL	7	22	20	14	21	84
XXIV ADMINISTRATORS AND MANAGERS	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-

OCCUPATION BY C.P.C.S. CATEGORIES AND CLASSIFICATION NUMBERS		SCHOOL YEAR					TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	5	
XXV	PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL WORKERS, ARTISTS						
	181 Medical practitioners	-	-	4	1	1	6
	182 Dental practitioners	-	-	1	-	-	1
	183 Nurses	7	10	13	11	3	44
	184 Pharmacists	-	-	2	2	1	5
	187 Chiropodists	-	-	-	1	-	1
	188 Physiotherapists	-	-	-	-	-	-
	193 Primary and secondary school teacher	2	5	5	7	5	24
	- Nursery assistants	1	7	2	4	3	17
	208 Creative artists (Graphic designers)	1	-	2	1	1	5
	209 Accountants	-	1	1	3	3	8
	211 Surveyors	-	-	-	1	1	2
	213 Clergy	-	1	-	-	-	1
	214 Lawyers	-	-	1	1	-	2
	215 Social welfare and related workers	-	-	1	2	1	4
	217 Professional workers N.E.C. - libraries	1	2	2	-	-	5
	- computer programmer	-	1	1	-	1	3
	219 Library assistants	-	1	-	-	1	2
		-	-	-	-	1	1
	TOTAL	12	28	35	34	22	131
XXVI	ARMED FORCES						
	221 Armed Forces (UK)	4	5	1	3	11	24
	TOTAL	4	5	1	3	11	24
	GRAND TOTAL	58	167	215	200	221	861

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